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THE  
LAYMAN'S INTRODUCTION  
TO  
The Book of Common Prayer





Prayers of our lady in latyn & englysh



**D**omine labia mea  
aperies. **L**ord þy m<sup>th</sup>  
alt opne my lippis  
t os meu ānūcia  
bit laude tuā. And

my mouth shal shewe þy preyfing  
**D**eus in adiutoriu meū intende. #

God take hede to myn help. **Q**ue ad  
adunādiūm me festina. **L**ord hye  
pee to helpe me. **G**loria patri & filio.

& spiritui scto. **L**ove be to þe fader &  
to þe sone. & to þe hooky gost. **I**n  
cū erat in p<sup>ri</sup>ncipio & mūt & semper.

& in secula. **A**men. **A**s it was i  
þe bigynnyng & now & eue. **A**men. **A**ll  
dis of worlde. **A**men. **A**ll hys prey  
se þe lord. **I**n adiutoriu meū intende.

Facsimile of a Page in a Lay-Folks  
Prayer Book of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.  
From a N.S. Primer in Latin and English  
in the Hunterian Library Glasgow. Date about 1390

THE  
LAYMAN'S INTRODUCTION  
TO  
**The Book of Common Prayer**

BEING A  
SHORT HISTORY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

BY THE REV.  
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*WITH FACSIMILE*

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

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## PREFACE

IT has been my aim, in writing the following pages, to produce a book at once reliable, short, and clear, which should help to a sound understanding of the Book of Common Prayer.

My experience of the requirements of the public schools, and indeed of the educated laity generally, seems to show that nothing is so much needed in order to complete and justify the general appreciation of the beautiful Services of the Church of England, as some knowledge of the history of those Services, and of the principles and causes which have guided their development. In my attempt to supply this need, I have tried to put the assured results of the most recent criticism in as brief and clear a form as possible.

Although the title of this Introduction would appropriate its use to lay people, it is hoped that the clergy also may find it useful in their teaching, and that it will be found sufficiently complete and accurate for use in the ordinary curriculum of theological colleges and elsewhere.

I have, wherever possible, gone to original authorities for information ; but I have also availed myself of the latest modern research which seemed

to bear upon the subject, especially of the recent works, in French or German, by M. Batiffol and M. Duchesne, and by Professors Bickell, Thalhoffer, and Harnack; as well as of the well-known standard works of English authors. In this connection I have to thank two friends for most kindly reading the manuscript before it went into the printer's hands, and for making many valuable suggestions—the Rev. Dr. Barmby, Vicar of Northallerton, late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham; and the Rev. W. H. Frere, of Radley.

I can scarcely venture to hope, in dealing with a subject so wide and so full of many different kinds of difficulties—historical, theological, liturgical, and antiquarian—that I have altogether succeeded in avoiding mistakes. But if this Introduction should stimulate further interest, and lead to a greater appreciation of a Book already dear to so many thousands of Englishmen and Englishwomen in all parts of the world, its end will have been in a great measure fulfilled, and the pleasant labour of its composition well repaid.

E. H. E.

DORKING,  
*April, 1896.*



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## CHAPTER I.

### THE CONTENTS OF THE PRAYER-BOOK.

A GLANCE at the title-page of the book which is known as the "Book of Common Prayer" will show what a large field of inquiry is opened out to any one who thoughtfully considers the meaning of the various terms which are there employed.

It is the Book not only of Common Prayer—that is, the book containing the forms according to which the "common" or "public" worship of the Church of England is carried on (as distinct from private prayer) in her daily services of Mattins and Evensong; but it is, besides, the book providing for the due performance of many other public religious offices. It

Many ancient  
Service-books  
represented in  
the Prayer-  
book.

is the book of the "administration of the Sacraments"—the Sacraments which are recognized as universally necessary by the Church of England, namely, Baptism and the Holy Communion; providing, in fixed forms, from which the minister may not depart, everything which is essential to the right administration of these ordinances. It contains also forms for "other rites and ceremonies," such

as those needed for Confirmation, or for Marriage, or for the Visitation and Communion of the Sick ; or such forms as those for the Burial of the Dead, for the Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth ; for the service appointed for Ash-Wednesday, the first day of Lent, called the Commination Service ; or for the commemoration of the sovereign's Accession to the throne. All these the title-page of the Prayer-book speaks of as "rites and ceremonies of the Church." Not, be it observed, "rites and ceremonies of the Church of *England* ;" for such rites and ceremonies belong properly to the Universal Church. But they are printed here in the particular form adopted in our own branch of the Universal Church, "according to the Use of the Church of England." The Prayer-book contains also a translation, in English, of the Hebrew Psalter, or Psalms, portions of which are appointed to be sung or said at Morning or Evening Prayer, and which are here provided for this purpose or for separate devotional uses. It contains also the forms to be followed in ordaining the clergy to their various offices—"the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." And besides all this, we find in the Prayer-book various Prefaces, which explain why alterations have been made in the book itself and in the ceremonies with which it is concerned ; various tables, such as those of the proper Lessons, or readings from

the Bible, which are to be used day by day in the Morning and Evening Prayer ; a Calendar, showing the Festival days of the Christian year ; rules for finding Easter Day and the other Festivals ; the so-called Athanasian Creed ; the Litany ; Prayers and Thanksgivings for use on particular occasions, such as the prayers for candidates to be ordained, for rain, for fine weather, etc. Bound up with the Prayer-book proper are also the Thirty-nine Articles, which summarize the theological views of the Church of England, as distinguished from those of other religious bodies in England at the end of the sixteenth century.

The Thirty-nine Articles not a complete system of doctrine.

It is not unimportant to notice that all these various services, prayers, tables, etc., are now collected together in one book ; for, as we shall see, in the days before printing was invented, the materials for each different office formed a separate volume, the Communion Service being contained in one book, the Service for the Burial of the Dead in another, and so on ; so that right up to the time of the Reformation a parish church or a cathedral required a small library of books before it was properly equipped for performing every service that might be required.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE FORMS OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

THE first requisite for understanding the Prayer-book of the Church of England is to know that its offices are the products of development. They grew up naturally with the Church, and are not the arbitrary compilations of one man or of one set of men. Their origin is contemporaneous with Christianity itself, and they represent the religious devotion, not of one particular century, but of many centuries. We have seen that the Prayer-book contains many different offices. Let us first take those which are the most familiar of all—the Communion Office and the Offices for Morning and Evening Prayer—and try to understand where they came from, and why they have taken the particular shape that they have taken.

Now, to do this we must go right back to the very beginning of Christianity—to those times of the infant Church in Jerusalem which came immediately after our Lord's ascension, and which are spoken about in the Acts of the Apostles. We must remember that

Christianity at  
first connected  
with Judaism.

the Apostles were Jews, and that our Lord Himself had been a constant attendant both at the synagogue-worship of the various towns in Palestine and at the temple-worship in Jerusalem. It is only natural, then, that the Apostles, so long as they remained in Jerusalem, continued to visit the temple and to join in its worship after our Lord's departure from them. We read in Acts ii. 46 that they continued "daily with one accord in the temple." We gather also that they kept up the habit of every devout Jew, of praying at fixed hours in the day. Daniel, in his captivity at Babylon, three times a day "kneeled upon his knees, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God" (Dan. vi. 10). Devout Jews, after their return from the Exile, still kept up the traditions of their countrymen, and sang their praises "seven times a day" (Ps. cxix. 164). And so the Apostles probably kept certain hours for prayer, such as we find marked very clearly a few centuries later. The *third* hour was that at which they were all gathered together in one place, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them (Acts ii. 1, 15); the *sixth* hour was that at which Peter went up upon the house-top to pray (Acts x. 9); the *ninth* hour, "the hour of prayer," was that at which Peter and John went up together to the temple (Acts iii. 1). The other early Christians in Jerusalem can have done no other than follow the example of the Apostles themselves, and, though the

## 6 *The Forms of Early Christian Worship.*

morning and evening sacrifices of the temple had not the same significance to Christians after the Crucifixion—the One Sacrifice for sins—yet the Christians did apparently join also in the services of prayer and praise which were offered on the occasion of these sacrifices.

Now, the synagogues of Jerusalem and of the rest of the world throughout which the Jews were dispersed had not this distinct national character which the temple-worship possessed. The synagogue-worship admitted of more or less adaptation to local circumstances, and <sup>Christian</sup> <sup>synagogues.</sup> even to peculiarities of belief. So, while the early Christians in Jerusalem took part in the temple services, they preached in the synagogues everywhere their own belief that the old Jewish dispensation had been fulfilled in Christ.<sup>1</sup> As time went on, the Christians became numerous enough to form synagogues (*i.e.* “congregations,” συναγῶγαι<sup>2</sup>) of their own, and it is in them, accordingly, that we must look for the earliest forms of Christian worship. Here, probably, in the Christian synagogues, but along the lines of public worship which had been observed for many ages, we must look for the origin of the offices of prayer and praise such as

<sup>1</sup> See St. Paul’s sermon in the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 14, *sq.*).

<sup>2</sup> St. James (Epist. ii. 2) uses this term of an assembly of Christians. But ἐκκλησία is the word more generally used, Jewish appellations being for the most part avoided.



those which developed into the Morning and Evening Prayer of the English Church.

The Office introductory to the Eucharist bears signs of a similar origin. The celebration of the Eucharist was an element entirely new to the Jew, though he was familiar, from his own meal offering, or Mincha, with the idea of a sacrifice unconnected with blood. Instead of the bleeding victims and the smoking altars of the temple-worship, which had looked forward to a perfect Offering for sin, and which were but types of a perfect Sacrifice (Heb. x. 12); and which, moreover, could be offered only while the temple stood; a new sacrifice, commemorative and not prospective, was now offered by the Christian Church—the unbloody sacrifice of the Eucharist, around which gathered a ritual of its own.

Of what did the synagogue-worship consist, which was the basis of Mattins and Evensong, and of the preparatory part of the Eucharistic Office? We know that it contained four Elements of the synagogue-worship. elements. There were readings aloud from the sacred books: first from the Law, that is, from the Books of Moses; and then from the Prophets, that is, from the other books of what we call the Old Testament. Besides these lections, or “lessons,” there was chanting of Psalms; there was generally a homily, delivered by some teacher of the synagogue, the subject of which was furnished by the previous reading; and there was

## 8 *The Forms of Early Christian Worship.*

prayer in common, either silent, or led by some one present. These four elements—reading aloud from the Scriptures, singing of Psalms, a homily or sermon, and prayers—formed the usual sabbath-day course of the synagogue service, and could be adopted without difficulty by the Christian communities.<sup>1</sup> As time went on, and the Apostolic Epistles came into existence, passages from these were read aloud as well as from the Old Testament; and the Gospels, as they in time appeared, with the record of our Lord's own acts and words, furnished another source of instruction to which a place of the highest dignity was accorded. We must be careful at this point to notice the two different directions in which the development of Christian worship proceeds. On the one hand, we find the Eucharistic rite combining elements of this synagogue-worship with others derived from the Passover ritual and so forming the Communion Service, or Liturgy<sup>2</sup>

Communion  
Office connected with  
Passover  
ritual.

<sup>1</sup> Three of these elements—reading, exhortation, and prayer—are mentioned by Justin Martyr, about A.D. 150 (*Apol. Major., sub fin.*), as forming part of the Sunday observances of Christians (τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν, . . . τὴν νοουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν . . . καὶ εὐχὰς). Tertullian, who lived at Carthage in the second century, mentions all four as forming part of the Lord's day solemnities of Christians in his time: "*Scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones deleguntur* . . ." (*De Anima*, 9). For the synagogue-worship of New Testament times, see Winer, *Bibl. Wörterb.*, ii. 548-551.

<sup>2</sup> Liturgy = λειτουργία, *i.e.* a public service. In classical times

proper; and on the other, we find the synagogue-worship developing into the services of the "Hours."

A separate treatise would be required to show fully the course of the development of these two kinds of offices, even if the evidence were forthcoming. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to take the actual facts which existed at the end of the first few centuries of Christianity.

A literary work known as the Clementine Liturgy, which forms an appendix to the Apostolical Constitutions, and which cannot be later than the fourth century, mentions components of the Eucharistic Office similar to those which all of the ancient Liturgies contain. Though these distinct elements occur in varying order in different Liturgies, their universal retention seems to prove a common origin, long previous to any separation between the Churches. The earlier portions of these Liturgies, corresponding to what we should call the Ante-Communion, bear so close a resemblance to some points in the synagogue Office for Sabbath Morning Prayer, that it is impossible to suppose there is no connection between the two. The later and more characteristic portion of the office—corresponding to what we should now call the Communion itself, with the prayer of consecration of the elements

The so-called  
Clementine  
Liturgy.

a λειτουργία involved the expenditure of private means upon some public office, such as the equipment of a Chorus, or even of a fleet or army. Later, it meant any public service.

of bread and wine, and all parts more intimately connected with that prayer—seems to follow the form of the Jewish Passover ritual. This would be *a priori* probable: for, according to the first three Gospels, the institution of the Holy Communion by our Lord occurred as an incident in the celebration of the Passover Supper. In the time of our Lord the Passover Supper had a well-established ritual, which was probably carried out by Him on this occasion; and, in obedience to His command to break the bread and drink the cup in remembrance of Him, the Apostles can hardly have followed any very different form than that which was used by our Lord Himself. Hence, in this part of the Clementine Liturgy we can trace an arrangement similar in almost every particular to the great service of commemoration in which the Jews celebrated their deliverance from the Egyptian oppression. The words of blessing the cup<sup>1</sup> being, of course, replaced in the Christian office by the words of institution used by our Lord, which are still preserved in our Communion Office.<sup>2</sup>

The Offices for Daily Prayer which were not Eucharistic, seem to have grown up in accordance

<sup>1</sup> There were *four* cups in the Passover ritual. Whether the "cup of blessing" of St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 16) was in origin the third or fourth of these, seems uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> For the whole of this subject, see Bickell's *Messe und Pascha*, or the English translation by Mr. Skene.

with the Apostolic custom before referred to, of observing hours of prayer. The hours were all along observed. Tertullian, who lived at <sup>The Apostolic</sup> Carthage towards the end of the second <sup>hours.</sup> century after Christ, had evidently been taught to observe the old manner of dividing up the day for prayer. He speaks of "those common hours—the third, the sixth, the ninth—which we may find in the Scriptures to have been more solemn than the rest" (*De Oratione*, xxv.). Again, in the same chapter of his work on prayer, he says, "We pray at least not less than thrice in the day, debtors as we are to Three—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—besides, of course, our regular prayers which are due, without any admonition, on the entrance of light and of night." And St. Cyprian, who lived not very long after Tertullian—he was Bishop of Carthage in A.D. 248—speaks of the observance of the hours as the settled habit of devout Christians. It was an unconscious testimony <sup>The hours represent the</sup> to the Holy Trinity, he thinks, that <sup>Trinity.</sup> even in Old Testament times righteous men prayed every third hour.<sup>1</sup> A century later than St. Cyprian, the Apostolical Constitutions give not only the hours, but the particular reason for each being observed.<sup>2</sup> The account runs thus: "Offer up your prayers at the dawn of day, and at the third hour, and the sixth, and the ninth,

<sup>1</sup> See Cyprian, *De Orat. Domin.*, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Apost. Const., viii. 34.

and at evening, and at cock-crowing : at the *dawn* returning thanks, because the Lord hath sent you light, removing the night and bringing the day ; at the *third* hour, because the Lord at that time received the sentence of condemnation from Pilate ; at the *sixth* hour, because in it He was crucified ; at the *ninth* hour, because all things were shaken when the Lord was crucified, trembling at the audacity of the impious Jews, not bearing the injury offered to the Lord ; at *evening*, giving thanks, because He hath given the night for rest from daily toil ; at *cock-crowing*, because that hour gives the glad tidings that the day is dawning in which to work the works of light.”<sup>1</sup>

So, as in the fourth century we have a complete Liturgy, it is clear also that at that time there was a regular system of daily prayer. Possibly it was for the most part confined to individuals, but yet there was a system. It is clear, too, that in this custom of observing certain hours of prayer, the example of the Apostles and of the Old Testament saints was followed, and that the Christians considered themselves under more, and not fewer, obligations than the latter. What we have to inquire is how these forms became sufficiently fixed to allow of their following the missionary progress of the Church, and to determine the form of Christian worship throughout Western Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Apost. Const., viii. 34.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE CANONICAL HOURS.

THE English Morning and Evening Prayer come from the ancient sources mentioned in the last chapter through the "Canonical Hours" of the Mediæval Breviary. To see the connection between our own offices and the most ancient ones, we must therefore trace them back through this intermediate stage.

The full cycle of the canonical hours would consist of eight services, *i.e.* one every three hours out of the twenty-four. They would be arranged as follows: *Nocturns*, a night service before daybreak; *Lauds*, at dawn; *Prime*, at the first hour, *i.e.* at six in the morning; *Terce*, at the third hour, or nine o'clock; *Sext*, at twelve; *Nones*, at three; *Vespers*, at six; *Compline*, at nine in the evening. In practice, this theory was subjected to various modifications, but in one form or another it was actually carried out in the earliest monastic institutions. Since it was the latter which cast

The theory of  
the canonical  
hours.

the Apostolic rule of prayer into something like the shape which lasted till the Reformation, we must briefly trace their history.

A new factor in connection with Christianity arises in the East towards the close of the fourth century. By that time Christianity had outlived its infancy, and its perils were now the perils of success. Christians, in becoming more numerous, had not become more fervent. From the reaction which was involved arose the system, so fraught with momentous consequences in the after-history of Christianity, of men and women separating

Solitaries  
originate  
monasticism.
 themselves from the rest of the world, in order that they might follow undisturbed a life given up to the obser-

vance of religious devotion. Ascetics and virgins (*μοναζόντες, παρθένοι*) bound themselves by vows to abstain from marriage, to fast daily, to spend the day in prayer. Holding, at first, a position between the clergy and the laity, they possessed none of the powers of the former, and yet were bound to stricter duties than the latter. Their numbers increased throughout the East to such an extent that we find them, at the end of the fourth century, holding in many Churches a position independent of the ordinary Church government.<sup>1</sup> At first represented by solitaries, who withdrew from the life of the world in order to practise in

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the opposition between the monastic and the regular clergy, of which we find so much in Mediæval times.



caves and desert solitudes the severest forms of self-mortification, this system led naturally to the formation of brotherhoods and sisterhoods living apart from the world, each community bound by certain vows and following a regular rule.

Where the whole day was given up to prayer, as it was in some of these Eastern monasteries, in Palestine, and Mesopotamia, and Egypt; and where a whole community was to follow the same routine, a necessity arose for a definite System of devotion. Hence, over and above the three "Apostolic hours," the third, the sixth, <sup>Terce, Sext, and the ninth, and the hours of rising</sup> <sup>None.</sup> and going to bed, the whole cycle of the day and night must be completed and enforced by rule, provision being made only for needful rest. Thus, from a custom originally followed in private devotion, came the offices of Terce, <sup>Nocturns.</sup> Sext, and None, with Nocturns, and the other hours completing the daily cycle.

It had been the custom among Christians, probably from the very first Easter dawn, to keep the night before Easter Day in solemn vigil. As the destroying angel had <sup>Origin of the vigil.</sup> entered the houses of the Egyptians in the night of the first Passover, while the Hebrews stood with their loins girded for the march, so Christ would come in the middle of the night, and it behoved His followers to be ready for

His advent.<sup>1</sup> And as Sunday, the day after the Jewish sabbath, was the day on which Christ had risen from the tomb, and was always kept as a weekly festival commemorating that event, so also the Easter vigil came to be kept on the eve of every Sunday. But must not men who are devoted to the religious life spend each day looking for the Lord's coming? This question was answered by keeping this nightly vigil, though in a modified form, not merely once in the year, or on the eve of every Sunday, but on the eve of every day. From its being held in the night, the office of this vigil was called Nocturns, and its opening portion, separating from the rest, became the origin of the evening service known as Vespers.<sup>2</sup>

But, the vigil over, the day could not begin without prayer. As soon as the dawn appeared the watchers broke forth into the Psalms of the dawn—the *Laudate Dominum* ("O praise the Lord of heaven"), the "O God, Thou art my God: early will I seek Thee," the "Glory to God in the highest," in praise and thanksgiving for the daylight. Thus arose the Office of Lauds.

The Office of Prime was first, it is said, observed

<sup>1</sup> St. Jerome, *Comment. in Matt.* iv. 25.

<sup>2</sup> So Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, p. 4. A recent authority, however, connects Vespers with the ceremony of "lighting the lamps" for the *agape*, or supper in the evening (*Church Quarterly*, January, 1896).

in the monastery of Bethlehem, where the tendency of the brethren to sleep after their earlier devotions was curbed by this fresh service imposed by the sternness of their Order.<sup>1</sup> It came after Nocturns.

Prime.

Again, Vespers could not end the day, for the evening meal came after Vespers. Hence arose naturally an office to complete the day, to be said just before retiring to rest. This office received the name *Completorium* (Compline) in the monastic rule of St. Benedict, and with it the cycle of the hours was complete.

Compline.

It must be clearly understood that the whole of this cycle was not observed by the Churches outside of monastic rules. In the latter the daily services were simpler and less numerous, though the tendency of the secular clergy was always to emulate the zeal of their monastic brethren. But in many of these Eastern monasteries, especially in those of Egypt, the observance of the hours went on with little interruption throughout the whole day, during the course of which the whole Psalter would be sung through.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Cassian, *Instit.*, iii. 4, where, however, *prima hora* does not necessarily refer to this office, though the custom referred to certainly led to a service at daybreak. Cassian was in Bethlehem A.D. 390-403. It has been argued lately, with some reason, that Prime and Compline were both developments of Italian, not of Eastern, monasteries (*Church Quarterly*, January, 1896).

<sup>2</sup> Cassian, *Instit.*, iii. 2, 3; cf. Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, p. 127.

When we consider that each psalm was followed by a prayer, and that there were frequent readings from Scripture interspersed throughout, it becomes obvious that little leisure for other pursuits was allowed by these monastic offices. In Western

Monasticism  
spreads to  
the West.

Europe they were soon cut down, principally owing to the influence of Benedict of Nursia,<sup>1</sup> under the patronage of the Roman see. The monastic system of the East had spread into other Christian Churches. Many of the monasteries which existed in Italy during the fifth century had become lax in discipline. It was Benedict's work to reform them, and to arrange their daily offices into a shape which put less strain upon human capacities. In the rules which he drew up for his monasteries (about A.D. 530) the Psalter was apportioned in such a way that, instead of being said through once a day, it was spread out over the seven days of the week. This shortened form of the daily offices came in Mediæval

The secular  
Breviary a  
copy of the  
monastic.

times to be called the *Breviarium*, when all that was necessary for the performance of the hours was comprised in a single volume.<sup>2</sup> It was the basis, not only of the monastic rule for all Latin-speaking countries, but

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with Benedict of Aniane, who lived in Gaul towards the close of the eighth century (died A.D. 821), and whose influence over the Gallican monasteries was almost as great as that of his earlier namesake over those in Italy.

<sup>2</sup> The name "Breviary" is not found till the eleventh century.

also of the secular Breviary, *i.e.* the Breviary used in ordinary churches.

It was from the Nocturns, Lauds, and Prime of the secular Mediæval Breviary that, at the Reformation, our present Order for Morning Prayer was constructed ; the Evening Prayer, in like manner, coming from a combination of the Offices of Vespers and Compline.

Augustine doubtless brought this secular Breviary and the Gregorian Sacramentary with him from Rome to England. He had been head of the monastery of St. Andrew on the Cœlian Hill, in Rome, a monastery founded by Pope Gregory, who is well known to have favoured Benedict's Rule. Consequences so important are connected with this matter that, at the risk of an apparent digression from our real subject, we must, in the next chapter, enter upon some consideration of the early history of the English Church, so as to understand how it fell under Roman influence.

## CHAPTER IV.

### HOW CHRISTIANITY IN OUR ISLAND FELL UNDER ROMAN INFLUENCE.

WHILE Christianity was growing to a settled life in the great Churches of the Roman world, in Palestine and Asia Minor, in Greece and Egypt, in Northern Africa and Italy, in Gaul and Spain, what was the condition of our own island? Uncertain who were first missionaries to Britain. Who first brought Christianity to Britain we shall probably never know, though mediæval fable ascribed its introduction either to Joseph of Arimathæa or to St. Paul himself. The Roman occupation of Britain lasted for about four hundred years after Christ, and it is at least probable that the religion which gained a footing in the very Prætorium at Rome was represented here during the early part of that period. But of British Christianity, even in the second century, we have no clear testimony, though the channel of communication between Gaul and Britain, kept open by the Romans, must have allowed the zeal of Gallic Churches to overflow into Britain in missionary enterprise. There is a story of Lucius,



a British king at the end of the second century, sending to the Bishop of Rome an entreaty that he might be made a Christian;<sup>1</sup> and though the origin of this story can be traced to Rome some three centuries later, it may indicate the presence of Christian influence in Britain at the earlier period. In the fourth century, the Church in Britain seems to be established. Three British bishops are present at the Council of Arles (A.D. 314), and take the orthodox side in the Arian controversy.<sup>2</sup> Hilary of Poitiers, in 358, congratulates his British brethren on their freedom from all contagion of this detestable heresy. Athanasius, Chrysostom, Jerome, all speak of British orthodoxy<sup>3</sup> in a way which shows that the British Church had attained in the fourth century a respectable position.

British Christianity in the fourth century.

Now, what liturgical forms were in use in Britain? So few traces are to be found, that to answer the question we have to go further back to ask what forms the missionaries themselves used, for these would naturally become the forms to be observed by their British converts. They can hardly have been other than Gallican. As the missionaries came from Gaul, in

British Liturgy founded on Gallican.

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Arius lived A.D. 256-336. He was a presbyter in the Church of Alexandria, who held the heretical view that Christ was of a different substance (*οὐσία*, "essence") from the Father, having been created by Him.

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Bright's *Chapters of Early English History*, p. 12.

which country the Gallican Liturgy prevailed, the British Use must have been, at any rate, based upon that Use, though it probably had certain peculiarities of its own.<sup>1</sup>

Now, about the middle of the fifth century occurred the displacement of the Britons by the English—that is, by tribes of Angles, Jutes, and Saxons—who, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the Romans and of the defenceless state of the Britons, landed on the eastern and southern coasts of Britain and overran the country. So

British Chris-  
tianity swept  
away by the  
English.

pitiless and sweeping was this invasion, that the greater part of the island was plunged into heathenism again, and every trace of Christianity was swept away. This is the period of the legendary British King Arthur, who sought—

“To crush the heathen and uphold the Christ.”

The Britons who escaped took refuge, some in Armorican Gaul, others in the parts now called Wales and Cornwall, and in the far north in Cumberland, where their Christianity still lived on. But for the rest of the island, now occupied by the English, Woden and Thor and the rest of the Scandinavian deities held for a time unhindered

The Celtic  
Missions.

sway. The conversion of the English to Christianity came, not from the feeble remnants of the British Church, but from other sources. The north owed its Christianity to St.

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. p. 141.



Aidan, who came from a monastery founded by the Irish monk Columba, on the little island of Iona, off the west coast of Scotland. The south owed its Christianity, in part at least, to the well-known mission of St. Augustine from Rome (A.D. 597). But by far the greatest influence in the island were those Celtic Missions which had been started by St. Columba forty years before St. Augustine landed in Kent, and which Aidan now carried on.<sup>1</sup> These Irish or Celtic missionaries worked from the centre of the little island of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, off the coast of Northumberland; and the Liturgy used by them (which was of close kin to the Gallican Liturgy used, as we suppose, by the earliest British Church) thus found its way into many of the Anglo-Saxon Churches. On the other hand, St. Augustine used the Roman form of Liturgy, and, as time went on, conflicts arose between the two Uses.

But there were other points at issue between the British, or Celtic, and the English Churches. Three in particular are mentioned<sup>2</sup> in which the Britons were schismatical: Differences  
between  
Celtic and  
Roman ritual. (1) in their observance of Easter; (2) in their form of the tonsure; (3) in their mode of administering Baptism. The last difficulty, which probably referred to the question of one or three

<sup>1</sup> For striking testimony to this effect, see the Romanist writer Montalembert, *Les Moines d'Occident*, IV. v. p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2.

immersions,<sup>1</sup> and the second also, might possibly have been overcome; the first was more serious. Many of the early Christians in Asia were "quarto-decimans;" that is, they reckoned Easter from the Jewish Passover, the fourteenth day of the moon, on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall. The other view, observed by the Roman Church, saw an appropriateness in keeping Easter always on the *first* day of the week, that having been the day of the Lord's resurrection. And that this Sunday might come as near as possible to the actual anniversary, *i.e.* to the Jewish Passover-time, the Roman Church fixed it as the first Sunday after the full moon which happens upon, or next after, the 21st day of March. The Britons, apparently, were not "quarto-decimans," for they always kept Easter on a Sunday, but they followed an old cycle which the progress of astronomical science had shown to be inaccurate, and which led then, to discrepancies with the rest of Christendom, which were expressly forbidden by the Council of Nicæa.

It was impossible for such differences to exist long side by side, and it is without surprise that we notice during the history of the next few

<sup>1</sup> Bede's words are, *ut ministerium baptizandi compleatis*, which have been interpreted by some authorities (*e.g.* Lingard, *A.-S. Church*, i. 69, 322) to refer to the Roman custom of completing the baptismal rite immediately by the ceremony of Confirmation.

centuries the growing influence of the Roman party. They were the evangelists of the now dominant race within the island, and the political advantages that this position of itself involved were furthered by their superior organization and by a far-seeing statesmanship to which the Britons were total strangers.

Roman  
organization  
wins.

As early as 602 a conference had been held by Augustine at Augustine's Oak,<sup>1</sup> in order to adjust differences between himself and British bishops, and had ended in the latter

Augustine's  
Oak.

rejecting his proposals. Sixty-two years later we find a missionary of Celtic origin and training advocating the Roman claims. Wilfred, trained in the monastery of Lindisfarne, under St. Aidan himself, had afterwards travelled to Rome, where he learned the more accurate way of calculating Easter, and fuller rules of monastic discipline. At the Conference of Whitby, held in 664, his arguments on the disputed points

Conference of  
Whitby.

proved unanswerable, and King Oswy and the majority of the assembly gave their votes against the Celtic usages. In Kent and the south, Roman customs already prevailed, and by this conference the northern part of the island also came under Roman influence. Henceforth it would be to Rome that men would look to settle important matters. So, in 668, when a new consecration was

<sup>1</sup> Probably on the Severn, near Bristol. (For the date, see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. p. 40.)

required to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Oswy King of Northumbria and Egbert King of Kent, agreed in sending a man to Rome to be consecrated. The man whom they selected died in Rome ; and the Pope, casting about for a successor, chose Theodore, a monk of the Greek Church (668). The choice was in some respects a fortunate one, for Theodore was a man of enormous practical ability. To him we owe the consolidation of the various missions of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the foundations of our parochial system. But with him came, naturally, further relations with Rome, which became still closer as time went on. By the Council of Clovesho<sup>1</sup> (September, 747), at which all branches of the Anglo-Saxon Church were represented, the Celtic usages were finally put aside.

The decisions of this Council mark the triumph of the well-ordered Roman discipline. No priest or ecclesiastical community was henceforth to chant or read Psalms or Scripture outside of the "common use ;" but only that "permitted by the custom of the Roman Church."<sup>2</sup> In this way the British, or most ancient Liturgy, which had been used in this island, was supplanted by that in which Roman influence prevailed.

It is certain that there were still British Churches,

<sup>1</sup> Probably Clyff-at-Hoe, near Rochester.

<sup>2</sup> Fifteenth Canon of Council of Clovesho.

especially in Wales, which stood outside of the movement represented by this Council ; but, one by one, they adopted Roman customs, and came under the prevailing rule. In 874 there was a Saxon Bishop of St. David's who was consecrated from Canterbury. Later, we find Welsh bishops in ecclesiastical disputes appealing to Rome. And finally, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Archbishop of Canterbury claims, without serious dispute, the whole of Wales as being within his ecclesiastical province.

Roman influence supreme in the country.

## CHAPTER V.

### ENGLISH USES AND SERVICE-BOOKS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

THUS, then, Roman influence was established throughout England. Yet it must not be supposed that the English Church grew up without the characteristics which made it a National Church.

Augustine is represented by Bede as writing to the Pope for advice in dealing with liturgical questions arising in England from the difference between the Gallican and Augustine's management of liturgical questions. Roman Uses. And the famous passage in Pope Gregory's answer to St. Augustine, which is quoted by Bede,<sup>1</sup> declares that "things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things." He, therefore, advises Augustine to "select from the Roman, or Gallican, or any other Church, those things which are pious, religious, and correct; to make these up into one body, and instil them into the minds of the English

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 27.

for their use.”<sup>1</sup> Now, whether this letter was really written to Augustine or not,<sup>2</sup> it beyond doubt expresses what really happened with regard to the services of the English Church. They were not merely copies of the Roman services. “They abound in Gallican details,” says a modern Romanist writer.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of the uniformity aimed at by the Council of Clovesho, there was sufficient latitude allowed in minor details to constitute truly “English” Uses, which became more definite as time went on. A “Use” means the particular arrangement of prayers, psalms, readings, and ceremonial used by any individual Church in its services. Every great cathedral had its own way of celebrating, not only the occasional offices, but those of the “Hours” and of the Eucharist itself. To some extent, dissimilarity between the Uses of different Churches

<sup>1</sup> Greg., *Op.*, ii. 1151 (Bened. edit.).

<sup>2</sup> It has been questioned lately by the Abbé Duchesne (*Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 94), who points out that St. Boniface caused Gregory's letter to be looked for in the archives at Rome in 745, and was unable to find it; and who thinks that the indifference expressed is distinctly against Gregory's ordinary practice, and more likely to be due to Theodore. Even if the abbé is right—which, however, there is every reason to doubt—he only proves that, if the letter was a later fabrication, and not written to Augustine, these liturgical changes took place in spite of the Pope. For Gregory's “indifference” on matters of ritual, cf. his views on *single* immersion in the Spanish Church, though the Roman custom was to immerse three times in baptism. *Regist. Epist.*, i. Ep. 43 (Migne).

<sup>3</sup> Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 93.



was unavoidable, for every bishop had the ordering of Divine worship in his own diocese, and there was no such unconscious fixity, and uniformity of language, such as has followed from the invention of printing. In Italy, the great Church of Milan maintained an entirely separate Liturgy, which has lasted till to-day, in spite of its proximity to Rome; and in this island, before the Norman Conquest, the Cathedrals of St. Paul's in London, of Lincoln, Hereford, Bangor, Exeter, Aberdeen, York, and Salisbury, possessed Uses of more or less celebrity, which probably were followed in the parish churches throughout their own dioceses.

Pre-eminent among these English Uses was that of Sarum, or Salisbury. Great inconvenience and even irregularity arose from the Use of one Church being different from that of another. Osmund, a nephew of William the Conqueror, who was Bishop of Salisbury during the years 1078 to 1099, set himself to remodel the offices of his own diocese, in the hope of remedying this confusion. He was at pains to secure the help of men skilled in liturgical studies; and for the Cathedral of Old Sarum he established an "Ordinal," *i.e.* a book which showed what service was proper on a particular occasion; and also a "Consuetudinarium," prescribing the special forms by which such a service was to be accompanied. This work of St. Osmund underwent revision

The Use of  
Sarum.



about 150 years later. In 1225 the cathedral was removed from Old to New Sarum, and it was probably about this time, during the bishopric of Richard Poore, that the Sarum Offices received their final shape for the new cathedral.<sup>1</sup> This was the famous "Sarum Use," which prevailed in most of the dioceses of England up to the time of the Reformation. This Sarum Use consisted of (1) the *Portiforium*, or *Breviarium*, containing the daily services of the canonical Hours ; (2) the *Missal*, or Mass-book, containing the Office of the Mass, or Holy Communion ; (3) the *Manual*, containing the occasional offices, *i.e.* those used, not at fixed hours, but on particular occasions, such as Baptism, Marriage, Burial of the Dead, Consecration of Holy Water, and the like.

It is needless to say that all these offices were in Latin. We must be on our guard against imagining that a Service-book was necessarily Roman because it was in Latin. All the Service-books of the West of Europe, in whatever country, were in Latin, even in such Churches as those of Toledo, or Lyons, which were long in complete independence of Rome. As Greek was the literary language of the East, so Latin was of the whole of Western Europe. It was not the classical Latin of the great Roman writers that had lent itself in the first centuries to express the new ideas brought in by the

Old English  
Office-books  
always in  
Latin.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, Introd. xx.

Christian Church, but the vulgar Latin, spoken wherever the Roman soldiers had been, as the language of ordinary intercourse,<sup>1</sup> and which afterwards became so excellent an instrument for ecclesiastical purposes. It was to the interest of the Roman see to maintain the Latin after the original reason for its use had disappeared.

But English, as a language common to the whole island, can hardly be said to have existed

English not  
yet a fully  
developed  
language.

even so late as the time of Osmund of Salisbury. For Augustine, when he first drew up services for the use of the English Church, at the beginning of the seventh century, English was nothing better than a dialect, or rather, a number of dialects. It was not until the thirteenth century that the fusion of the Anglo-Saxons, or English, with their conquerors the Danes and the Normans, resulted in a common language capable of being fixed in literary form.

It was one of the principal aims of the Reformation in England to simplify the Service-books, and to make them intelligible to ordinary people. But before we can realize how necessary this was, we must understand something of the condition of things which existed at this period.

To begin with, we must realize that Service-books of the Church of England were not one, but many. Different services were contained in

<sup>1</sup> Thalhoffer, *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik*, i. § 27, p. 402.

different books, and besides the actual words of the service said aloud by the priest, and which were written in black, there were in the later Mediæval times full directions for the ceremonial which was to accompany the words, these directions being known as "rubrics," because

they were written in red characters. The pre-Reformation Service-books were, almost all of them, meant for the use of

Ancient  
Service-books  
not meant for  
use of the  
laity.

the clergy alone. Not only was it impossible, before the invention of printing, to multiply copies in sufficient numbers for the use of the laity, but very few of the latter could read or understand Latin. And the directions for the most ordinary service had become so complicated by the consideration of special occasions, such as saints' days,—those observed being far more numerous than now,—each of which had its own special Psalms, Lessons, Hymns, etc., to which the ordinary course gave way, that none but a skilled officiant could understand them. An inspection of those bulky, but magnificent volumes, which represent these Mediæval Service-books of the English Church, and specimens of which are still to be seen in our great libraries, will make this fact abundantly clear.

Let us try to understand what would be the literary furniture of a cathedral or well-appointed parish church.

First of all, there would be the *Missal*, or Mass-book, containing the Office for Celebrating the

Holy Communion, generally of vellum, adorned, perhaps, on every page with rich painting and illu-

Missal for the Mass. mination, the result of months or years of patient and devoted care lavished

upon its preparation in the writing-rooms of some monastery. Then there would be the *Breviary*,

Breviary for the Hours. or, as it was usually called in England in the Anglo-Norman period, the *Porti-*

*forium*, or *Portehors*, with the materials for the Canonical Hours, *i.e.* for the ordinary daily services, Mattins, Lauds, Evensong, etc., which were known as the "Divine Office," containing the necessary psalms, canticles, antiphons, hymns, readings from Scripture and from the Fathers, responds and versicles. Most editions of the Breviary contained more even than this, as, for example, services known as the Hours of the Dead, Hours of the Blessed Virgin, various Litanies, and an arrangement of Psalms, Prayers and Hymns, much shorter than those of the Divine Office, and therefore called the "Little Office." The *Manual* comes next in im-

Manual for the occasional offices. portance—a "handbook," as its name implies, of the occasional offices, such as those for Baptism, Marriage, Burial

of the Dead, Benedictions of Water, Candles, etc., for the Visitation of the Sick, Extreme Unction, and the like.<sup>1</sup> The *Gradual*, or *Graile*, was intended

<sup>1</sup> Copies of the Manual are extant which contain portions of the Service of the Mass for special occasions; *e.g.* C. 35, g. 14, Brit. Mus. (printed at Rouen, 1543).

for use at the Mass. It contained the musical part of the Communion Service performed by the choir, consisting of the invariable parts, such as the Kyries, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, and of the variable parts, such as the Graduals, Introits, Sequences, Tracts, etc.<sup>1</sup> The *Psalterium* contained the Psalms in the usual order. *Legenda*, as the name implies, contained things to be read, and included, in later Mediæval times, readings from the lives of the saints and from the Fathers, as well as from Scripture. The *Antiphonarium* was another book for musical purposes. It was the musical counterpart of the Breviary, as the Gradual was of the Missal. It contained the musical notation for the antiphons sung at the services of the hours, and for such other portions of the service as required it—hymns, invitatory psalms, responses, etc. Besides these books, there were separate books for the Gospels and Epistles read at Mass, and called respectively *Evangeliarium* and *Epistolarium*; an *Ordinale*, and *Pica* or *Pie*, so called from the spotted appearance of its tables, by which one could find the proper office appointed for any particular day; the *Pontificale*, containing

Gradual for  
the music of  
the Mass.

Antiphonary  
for the music  
of the Hours.

<sup>1</sup> The *Gradual* was, properly, a sentence sung after the Epistles, *in gradibus*, or on the steps of the chancel or pulpit.

The *Introit* was the psalm, with its antiphon, introducing the Communion Office.

The *Sequence* (or Tract, as the case might be) was the continuation and conclusion of the Gradual.

such offices as would be performed only by a bishop, such as those of Ordination, Consecration of churches and their furniture, and (sometimes) of Confirmation ; and the *Processionale*, with directions for the ordering of processions, whenever they occurred.

It must not be forgotten that these books were of English use, not Roman. In numberless particulars they differed from the Roman. English ritual independent of the Pope. Roman influence came with Augustine, but actual interference from the Pope with English ecclesiastical affairs was of later and gradual growth. Augustine, if he did in fact receive advice from Pope Gregory in ordering the English ritual (as is doubted even by Romanist writers), at least never dreamt of obtaining the Pope's formal sanction to it when the work was done. In the same way, the English bishops at Clovesho in the eighth century, and Osmund of Salisbury in the eleventh, acted in complete independence of papal authority, so far as the settlement of ritual questions was concerned. In company with the Roman Church, the Church of England suffered the gradual intrusion of superstitious elements into her offices ; but in the self-conscious times of the Reformation the latter was able to purge her offices of the accumulated errors, which a Church committed even then in spirit to the doctrine of infallibility found it impossible to discard.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE ENGLISH PRIMER.

THERE was a devotional book in very common use in England for several centuries before the Reformation, called the "Primer," which presents features so peculiar and interesting as to require special consideration from the student of the English Prayer-book. To begin with, it was in comparatively early times written in English. The English Primer, like the Primer in Latin, was entirely different in nature from the books considered in the last chapter, being intended, not for the use of the clergy in the public offices of the Church, but for the devotional use of the laity, especially of the young, and of such as could not be expected to enter into the full meaning of the ordinary Latin services.

The Primer a  
book of pri-  
vate devotion.

The principle of teaching the rudiments of the faith in English was as old as the English Church. We find clear evidence of this as early as A.D. 734. Bede, in a letter of that date to Egbert, Archbishop of York, on the state of the Northumbrian Church, insists on the

No new  
principle  
involved.

importance of an intimate knowledge of the Lord's Prayer and of the Apostles' Creed, which, he says, ought to be taught to lay people, and to those who have knowledge only of their own tongue; on which account, he says, he has put forth the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in the language of the English.<sup>1</sup> Six years later (A.D. 740) there is a canon of King Egbert ordering "every priest to instil carefully the Lord's Prayer and Creed into the people committed to him."<sup>2</sup> Later still (A.D. 970),<sup>3</sup> Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, orders his clergy to "speak on Sundays and festivals, as often as they can, the sense of the Gospel to the people in English, and, through the teaching of the Lord's Prayer and of the Creed, to incite men to believe and to cherish their faith." The laws of Canute in the eleventh century show the same solicitude for the proper education of the people in the main facts of their religion. "We enjoin that every Christian whatsoever," says the twenty-second clause of his *Leges Ecclesiasticæ*, "should at least be able to understand the true faith, and learn the Pater Noster and the Creed."<sup>4</sup> Hence, probably, the earliest Primers were those horn-books which are

Eighth, tenth,  
and eleventh  
centuries.

<sup>1</sup> "Et symbolum videlicet et dominicam orationem in linguam Anglorum translata obtuli." (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. p. 316.)

<sup>2</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 398.

<sup>4</sup> Wilkins, *Leges Eccl. Can. Regis*.



known to have existed in parish churches, extant specimens of which exhibit the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, together with either the Ten Commandments or the English "Hail, Mary!"

But although this is the meaning of the Primer—"a first book of devotion"—the word had in later times a highly technical significance. Certain elements are invariably present in the later Mediæval Primers, namely, the Office of the Dead;<sup>1</sup> the Office of the Blessed Virgin; the Penitential Psalms (Pss. vi., xxxii., xxxviii., li., cii., cxxx., cxliii.); the "Gradual" Psalms (Pss. cxx.-cxxxiv.), so called because they were supposed to have been sung on the steps of the temple; the Litany; the Commendations, *i.e.* the divisions of Ps. cxix.

Groundwork  
of the  
Primer.

The two offices of the Primer above mentioned (the Hours of the Dead and of the Blessed Virgin) are the same as those referred to in the last chapter as the Little Office. They had their origin in monastic usages of the eighth and ninth centuries in France, where it became the custom to supplement the regular Offices of the Hours by private devotions performed before the regular offices began. These private devotions were said with particular "intention," *e.g.* in memory of the faithful dead, or of those recently deceased, or in honour of the

Offices sup-  
plementary to  
the Breviary  
Hours.

<sup>1</sup> This was not, of course, an Office for the *Burial* of the Dead, but one commemorative of deceased persons.

Virgin, and so on ; and they included sometimes a recital of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, as well as of other appropriate prayers and psalms. Being said before the corresponding Hours of the Breviary Offices, they grew up to a definite system of Lauds, Mattins, Vespers of the Dead ; Lauds, Mattins, Vespers of the Blessed Virgin ; and so on. And from the monasteries they passed into the use of the parochial clergy, and thence into the hands of the laity, for whose use their shortness and simplicity made them especially suitable.

It was doubtless the use of these private devotions by lay people that led to their being translated into the vernacular of most Christian countries. By about the beginning or middle of the fourteenth century, English Primers, even in their most developed form, seem to have been quite common ; and when we remember that there were in this way whole offices of daily prayer in English gradually acquiring a sort of independence of the regular Breviary Offices (though in practice they were merely supplementary to the latter), we shall see that people's minds were prepared long before the Reformation for a complete system of worship in their own tongue.

There is a beautiful manuscript copy in the British Museum of one of these fourteenth-century Primers, written entirely in English,<sup>1</sup> which it may be well to describe, as showing what the laity

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. 27592 (additional).

actually possessed a hundred and fifty years before the first English Prayer-book was produced.

Like the latter, this book is prefaced with a Calendar. The Psalms of the Hours (that is, the Psalms of Mattins, Lauds, etc., to Compline), with their versicles, hymns, and canticles, come next, the *Te Deum*, the

Description of  
a later Eng-  
lish Primer.

*Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, etc., being all in English. In other words, complete Offices for Morning and Evening Prayer. The Litany in English comes after the Hours; then the Ten Commandments, with a long explanation of each of them; then a list of the Seven Deadly Sins, also with comments; the Seven Works of Mercy; the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit; the Seven Words which Christ spoke when He hung upon the Cross; a discourse of St. Augustine; the Sixteen Virtues of Charity; and, lastly, some Texts of Scripture, with commentaries upon them. This may fairly be taken as a specimen of the form assumed by devotional works used by devout Englishmen and Englishwomen in the days before printing was invented;<sup>1</sup> but it must not be forgotten that the Primer was never more than a book of *private* devotion.

Primers were issued by authority, such as were

<sup>1</sup> In the Calendar of Wills of the Court of Husting (p. 669) there is a reference to one of these Layman's Prayer-books. John Preston, A.D. 1353, bequeaths to William, his apprentice, "a sum of money, his Psalter and Primar, together with his girdle and best pouche." Many similar references are extant.

the origin of editions known as the Primer according to the Use of Salisbury, and so on. The "New Learning," too, found in this book a

The Primer a  
convenient  
vehicle for  
reforming  
ideas.

convenient vehicle for reaching the popular ear, and Primers were issued by individual religious teachers. About the time of the Reformation we find many editions in which prevailing Romanist doctrines, such as the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, are attacked in unsparing terms. The attention of the authorities was naturally called to the subject, and in 1535 Dr. Marshall published a second edition of his Primer, which probably was in part inspired by Archbishop Cranmer and furthered by Cromwell. The notions of the Reformers with regard to worship of the saints and of the Virgin, and with regard to prayers for the dead, are here very clearly expressed. In the Litany there are addresses to the Virgin, to the Angels, to the Twelve Apostles, to Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, to "pray for us." But the reader is explicitly reminded that there is "no commandment of Holy Scripture that we must of necessity pray to our Blessed Lady and saints, or that otherwise we cannot be heard." This book was well known, but soon suppressed. It was followed in 1539 by Hilsey's Primer. Hilsey was Bishop of Rochester, and the book was published with some show of authority, bearing on its title-page the words, "Set forth by the Bishop of

Rochester at the command of Thomas Cromwell." In "the bidding of the bedes"<sup>1</sup> in this book, the royal supremacy over the Church of England, which had been asserted by Henry VIII. five years before, appears in explicit terms: "The Kynges moost excellent maiestie, supreme head immediately under God of the spirituality and temporaltie of this Church of Englande." But these Primers all gave way to the Henry VIII.'s  
Primer. "King's Primer" of 1545, a book carefully drawn up with the intention of securing uniformity, and issued under the immediate authority of the king. Its title-page runs, "The Primer, set foorth by the Kinges maiestie and his clergie to be taught, learned, and read: and none other to be used throughout all his dominions." With some notable omissions (for, of course, it did not contain such offices as the Communion Office or the occasional offices), this book bears a curious superficial resemblance to the Book of Common Prayer which was so soon to be produced. Together with the ordinary contents of a Primer, such as the Calendar, and Mattins and Evensong, with Psalms and Prayers, there were bound up with this volume the "Pistels and Gospels" for Sundays and holy days throughout the year, beginning with New Year's Day and ending with the Sunday after Christmas. So near were the laity even at that time to possessing a Book of Common Prayer.

<sup>1</sup> Bedes = prayers; Germ. *beten*, "to pray."

Several editions of this King's Primer were issued, some entirely in English, others in English with the Latin alongside. And all schoolmasters were ordered to teach this Primer to the young in English, "next after their A, B, C," until they should be competent to understand it in Latin.

Before leaving the subject of the Primer, it may be mentioned that the publication and enforcement of the Book of Common Prayer in the reign of Edward VI. and later sovereigns did not do away with the publication of these books of private devotion. A Primer was issued under authority in the reign of Edward VI., others are found in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and a book of private devotion, drawn up by Bishop Cosin, at the instance of Charles II., for the use of the ladies of the court, naturally fell into the shape assumed by these earlier devotions, and, like them, was based upon the services of the Hours.

Later  
Primers.

## CHAPTER VII.

### TENDENCIES TO REFORM IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

WE shall now be prepared to some extent to understand the gradual progress of that movement, or combination of movements, which finally evolved the English Book of Common Prayer. We have seen how the early English Church fully recognized the principle of teaching her children the essentials of the Christian faith in their own tongue, and how this principle was enforced by definite ecclesiastical canons put forth by the kings. That principle, though shadowed over in the darker days of the Mediæval Church, when the influence of Rome during the reigns of the Norman and Plantagenet kings lay like a pall of spiritual darkness on the people, received very appreciable aid from an event which took place early in the fourteenth century—the translation of the Bible.

Translation  
of the Bible.

In this fact lay the possibility of an English Prayer-book. Wycliffe's translation did more than put the Holy Scriptures within the reach of



all who could read or listen ; like Luther's Bible in later times in Germany, it did much to fix the language in which it was written. Henceforth, Latin ceased to be necessary in England for the expression of religious truth. The development of the Primer from its simplest form, which contained only the barest elements of religious knowledge, to a complete book with a very definite significance, such as was described in the last chapter, would have been impossible without some such work as this, which provided translations of the Psalms, and even, as we have seen, of the Epistles and Gospels, ready to hand. And, a little later, all this tendency towards an intelligent form of worship joined the great flood of the Reformation, and swept away, bit by bit, not only a mass of accumulated errors, but the veil which had so long hidden from ordinary people the spiritual light and beauty of the old services.

In the reign of Henry VIII. we naturally find the inclination to purge the old services, and to render them into the vernacular, growing to a head in connection with the general course of the Reformation. The movement for Reform, which was convulsing Europe, had forced the attention of the Roman see itself to a reconsideration of its Service-books. In 1520 the Pope (Leo X.) himself had ordered a revision of the Breviary Hymns, into which had crept almost inconceivable absurdities of

Revision of  
Roman  
Service-books.



superstition. And in 1536 Cardinal Quignonez, a Spaniard, under the express patronage of the Pope (Clement VII.) published a reformed Breviary, which, though suppressed about thirty years later, shows the recognition by the Roman see of the necessity for reform.

In England, events took a very different course. As early as 1509 we find a Missal described as "amended." In 1516 a Breviary appeared, with rubrics curtailed and Lessons from Scripture given at their full length. In 1531 the Sarum Breviary was issued in a thoroughly revised form; and a revised Sarum Missal followed in 1533.<sup>1</sup> In 1534 Cranmer and other bishops began to revise Tyndale's Bible. This is the great date of the Reformation in England; for it marked England's formal declaration of independence from the Pope. On the 31st of March<sup>2</sup> the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury reported to the Upper that "The Pope of Rome has no greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture, in this Kingdom of England, than any other Bishop." The Synod of York assented unanimously to this proposition on the 5th of May following; and on the 9th of June the king openly proclaimed himself, with the sanction of both Convocations, as

1534, Headship of the Pope denied by English Church.

<sup>1</sup> By an order of Convocation, in 1542, the Sarum Breviary was to be used all over England. Cf. Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. pp. 771, *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> Joyce's *Sacred Synods*, p. 351.

the "only Supreme Head upon earth of the Church of England." It was now a matter of only a few years for the English Church, with a recognized English head, to offer up its public worship in its own tongue.

In 1535 (October 4) Miles Coverdale's translation of the Bible appeared. It was translated from the Latin, with the help of the recent Dutch Version, and was the first whole Bible *printed* in English. It was dedicated to the king, and was allowed in England by authority. Next year an injunction from the king ordered that The Bible read publicly. "one boke of the whole Bible, of the largest volume in Englyshe" should be "set up in summe convenyent place" within every parish church where parishioners might most commodiously resort to the same and read it. In the same year an order of the Archbishop of York<sup>1</sup> went still further: "All curates and heads of congregations, religious or other, privileged or other, shall every holy day read the Gospel and Epistle of that day out of the English Bible, plainly and distinctly." They were probably to be read in English after the Latin version had been read, in pursuance of a custom at that time observed in Germany, but as ancient in principle as the first century, when in Rome the Gospel and

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a similar order; but the Canterbury records were burnt in the great fire of London (1666).

Epistle were read aloud, both in Greek and Latin, to suit both classes of hearers.<sup>1</sup>

Other books in English, such as versions of the Psalms, reformed Primers, and the like, were issued from the press in the next few years, and at length, on the 21st of February, 1543, Cranmer gave formal information to the Convocation of Canterbury that it was His Majesty's wish "that all Mass-books, Antiphoners, Portuises [*i.e.* Breviaries] in the Church of England should be newly examined, corrected, reformed, and castigated, from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, from all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitions, orations, collects, versicles, and responses: that the names and memories of all saints which be not mentioned in the Scripture or authentical doctors should be abolished, and put out of the same books and calendars, and that the service should be made out of the Scripture and other authentic doctors."

Service-books  
to be re-  
formed.

The work of revision was accordingly handed over to the bishops and others, and the king showed his sense of the urgency of the matter by sending word to the Convocation that none of its members should absent himself without leave, under penalty of the royal displeasure. Convocation also ordered that on every Sunday and holy day throughout the

English New  
Testament in  
the churches.

<sup>1</sup> Thalhoffer, i. § 27, p. 400.

year the curate of every parish church, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should openly read to the people one chapter out of the New Testament, in English, without exposition, and when the New Testament was over then to begin the Old.<sup>1</sup>

In 1544 Cranmer published a revised Litany, in which were left out the numerous petitions to various saints, all mentioned by name. Yet he retained three clauses calling for the prayers of the Virgin Mary, of the Angels, and of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles.

But the hand of the wilful monarch who then occupied the throne of England lay heavy on all who dealt with theological matters. He would allow no full office except the Litany to be used publicly in English. Yet a great advance had been made, and the Reforming party had every reason to be content with this and its other gains

Summary of  
advance. during this reign, namely, the reading of the Epistles and Gospels in English, and the English Lessons on Sundays and Festivals at Morning and Evening Prayer. When to all this were added the contents of the Primers, which already contained the Psalms, and regular forms for Mattins and Evensong, all in English, there seemed little to be required except their authorization for public use. The great office of the Church—the Communion Office—still awaited

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 863.

translation. How this object was partly achieved must be told in the next chapter. With this last concession, the whole principle of an English Book of Common Prayer seems to have been already gained.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE "ORDER OF THE COMMUNION."

THE death of Henry VIII., towards the end of 1547, set the minds of the Reformers free to proceed with their work of revising the Service-books. While the revision went on, the young king Edward VI. did what he could to calm the ferment of men's minds, for the times were rife with <sup>contemplated</sup> theological discussion. He forbade all <sup>reform.</sup> controversy on the great subjects connected with the Mass "until such time as he, with the advice of his Council and his clergy, should set forth an open doctrine thereof." And so, for the first two years of his reign, the old English Use of Salisbury, in the Latin tongue, continued to be used for all ordinary services throughout the land.

Before the year 1547 came to an end, Convocation had decreed the restoration of the cup to the laity,<sup>1</sup> and a statute confirming this all-important

<sup>1</sup> Communion in one kind, *i.e.* in the bread only, following from the doctrine that Christ's Body was conveyed in either of the two elements separately, had not received full synodical authority in the

decision had been passed by Parliament (December 24). The revision of the Mass,<sup>1</sup> or Communion Service, followed as a matter of course. For the present, the old Sarum Use for the celebration of the Mass was retained untranslated, as far as the point where the celebrant communicates himself; but after that point provision was made for the intelligent communion

This "Order" tacked on to the old rite.

of the laity by the addition of an entirely new portion in English. This was called the "Order of the Communion," which, having passed the Convocations, received the civil sanction on the 8th of March, 1548. This "Order of the Communion" was confessedly a temporary arrangement. One of its rubrics expressly forbids "the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass, *until other order shall be provided.*" But the form in which it was conceived anticipates in some degree the final form assumed by the Communion Service under the hands of the Reformers. Its Exhortations are characteristic of the change, and are akin both in spirit and language to those in our

Roman Church till the thirteenth session of the Council of Constance, which was begun in A.D. 1414.

<sup>1</sup> The English word "Mass" is the same as the French *Messe* (from Latin *Missa*, like *promesse* from *promissa*). The name comes from the formula, *Ite, missa est*, pronounced in early times when the catechumens were dismissed before the more solemn part of the service began. The full phrase was, perhaps, *Missa est ecclesia*, "The assembly is dismissed;" though some take *missa* as a substantive = *missio*, "dismissal." There is no objectionable significance in the word itself.



present Communion Office. The General Confession is identical with our own ; it is followed by a Form of Absolution, by the "comfortable words," by the Prayer of Humble Access ("We do not presume," etc.), and then by the words of distribution of the elements, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life ;" and, "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life ;" the whole ending with a dismissal in the peace of God. It is noticeable that many of the Mediæval offices prescribe no form of words to be used at the administration to the laity. Communion of the laity, even in one kind, had become very rare. This "Order of the Communion," tacked on to the old rite, served for the celebration of the Holy Communion for the next thirteen months, after which the services of the new Prayer-book entirely in English superseded all others.



## CHAPTER IX.

### THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

OUR inquiries have brought us at length to the English Prayer-book of 1549. It, and not the Prayer-book of 1552, must be considered as the crowning point of the Reformation in England, properly so called. It was the mature work of the most eminent Churchmen of the time, and was far more correct, from the point of view of liturgical science, than the book by which it was so soon superseded. In it was represented most of what was Catholic<sup>1</sup> in doctrine, pure in ritual, and beautiful in thought or expression, in the worship of the Christian Church since its foundation. The alterations to which this book was subjected a year or two later were due, not to any desire for liturgical correctness, or for returning to ancient purity, but rather to the mere spirit of reaction and the ill-advised prejudices of continental Reformers.

First English  
Prayer-book  
strictly  
Catholic.

<sup>1</sup> Catholic = universal. Catholic doctrine is that which has been held by the Christian Church as a whole—*καθ' ὅλον*, “by all, at all times, and in all places”—as opposed to what has been taught only in particular Churches.

We must examine the book in detail, remembering what it was meant to supersede. In the chapter dealing with the ancient Service-books, we saw that the various services in use were contained in many separate books. Now all these services had been revised, and were bound up together in one volume: the Mattins and Evensong (with the Psalter<sup>1</sup>) representing the old Sarum Breviary; the Order for the celebration of "the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass" (with the arrangement of Collects, Epistles, and Gospels belonging thereto), representing the old Missal; the services for Baptism, Burial, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, etc., representing the old Manual. Other of the old Service-books, such as the Ordinal and the Pontifical, containing the forms for making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, were not represented at all in the Prayer-book of 1549.<sup>2</sup>

Let us take first the Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer, and see how they differed from the old offices. The need for simplifying the latter, and an idea as to what was actually done in this direction, can be best realized by reading the original preface to the book, now printed in our Book of Common

<sup>1</sup> The *Lessons* were no longer bound up in the volume, the Bible being referred to in a Table of Lessons.

<sup>2</sup> An Ordinal was published early in 1550 as a companion to the Book of Common Prayer. It was revised afterwards, and was included in the book of 1552.

Prayer under the title "Concerning the Service of the Church." It mentions how the rule in the first ages of the Church was to read the whole Bible over once in the year in the daily services, and how "this godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories, and legends, with multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations, and synodals; that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread." It mentions how, "whereas St. Paul would have such language spoken to the people in the Church, as they might understand, and have profit by hearing the same; the service in this Church of England these many years hath been read in Latin to the people, which they understand not." It refers to the manner in which some of the Psalms were never read in church at all; to the "number and hardness of the rules called the Pie;" and to the manifold changings of the service, which made it so hard and intricate a matter to turn the book, "that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out."

Thus we are prepared for the two great alterations which transformed the Mediæval Mattins and Evensong to something like their present form, namely, the provision of two uninterrupted Lessons, one from each of the

*The Lessons  
not to be  
interrupted.*

Old and New Testaments, instead of the numerous Lessons previously read with interruptions of the various kinds mentioned just now ; and, secondly, the division of the Psalms into two daily portions (one for Morning and one for Evening Prayer), of such length that the whole Psalter should be sung through once a month.<sup>1</sup>

For the rest, the Morning Prayer was an amalgamation of the three ancient offices of Mattins, Lauds, and Prime ; the Evening Prayer an amalgamation of Vespers and Compline. How can this amalgamation be justified ? We have seen that the round of secular services known as the Canonical Hours were founded upon those observed in monastic institutions ; and it must be remembered that the monasteries of England had been swept away a few years before the date of the first English Prayer-book. All that the revisers

A book for  
laity as well  
as clergy.

aimed at was provision for the common worship of the secular clergy and laity. Hence there was no scruple in the minds of the Reformers in adhering to a principle which was apparently in general use in their day, of "accumulating" various offices ; that is, of saying various offices one after the other, just as is done in some churches of England at the present day,

<sup>1</sup> The Mediæval *theory* was, as we have seen above (Chapter III.), to sing the Psalter through once a week ; but this had come to be impossible through the accumulation of anthems, responds, etc., which caused most of the Psalms to be in practice left out altogether.

where we have Mattins followed immediately by the Litany and Holy Communion. This tended to shorten the combined offices, for, as some parts of the old Mattins occurred again in Lauds and Prime, and so on, the recurring portions could be left out, and the rest combined into one Office of Morning Prayer. In the same way, the new Office of Evening Prayer was shorter than the two offices of Vespers and Compline from which it was composed. The two new services of Morning and Evening Prayer were practically identical with the same offices in our present Prayer-book, with the exception that each began at the point where the Lord's Prayer now occurs, and ended with the Third Collect. The Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, which begin our present daily offices, had no ancient counterpart, and were not prefixed to the Morning Prayer till 1552; and the prayers after the Third Collect and anthem were not added till 1661. It may be added, in explanation of the fact that the Lord's Prayer occurs *twice* in both Morning and Evening Prayer, that the first recitation was no integral part of the service, but preparatory, following the old custom of the Roman and English Churches. Hence, as at the beginning of the Communion Service, it was said by the priest alone, the public office not beginning till the following versicle, "O Lord, open Thou our lips," which the priest said aloud.

Later alterations in  
Mattins and  
Evensong.

The prefixing of the Sentences, Exhortation, etc., in 1552, left the Lord's Prayer in a false liturgical position; but it was not until 1661 that the ancient custom was overruled by the present rubric, ordering the minister to say the Lord's Prayer in an audible voice, and the people to repeat it with him.

It would take long to describe at length the points altered from the Sarum Missal in the Communion Service of 1549. The general result of the alterations was far greater simplicity of ceremonial, and a shortening of the service, due not only to this fact, but also to the omission of the memorials of the numerous saints, apostles, martyrs, etc., who had been mentioned by name in the earlier office. It must be remembered that this Communion Office of 1549 was intended for the use of the laity as well as of the clergy. While the ancient Missal, meant solely for the use of the officiating ministers, contained the most minute rubrical directions to the priest and choir for the due celebration of the most solemn office of the Church, the present book contained the minimum of such guidance. The Missal had directed the movements of the priest and his attendants at every point of the service, regulating their respective positions at the altar, their genuflexions, their use of the censer and of the sign of the cross, down to minute details. The new book contained, perhaps, too little of this sort. It



supposed a knowledge of tradition in the clergy ; but provided for no permanent maintenance of it. It did not even, for instance, prescribe words with which the celebrant himself <sup>Much left to tradition.</sup> was to communicate ; and though, for the present, such omissions were of no great matter, while the ordinary ceremonial was fresh in the minds of the clergy, it has led to great variations of usage since. The discretion of the clergyman, in many points which acquired a special importance through being combated in later times, has often proved an unsatisfactory substitute for definite rubrical instruction given under proper authority.

The actual service appointed for the Communion was in almost all essential points the same as our present office, as will be seen from <sup>The Communion Office.</sup> the following brief description. The prayers, it will be noticed, differ rather in their arrangement than in actual content. The office began with the Lord's Prayer and the Collect as in our office. Then came (not the Ten Commandments, but) the psalm appointed as the Introit,<sup>1</sup> after which came the Lesser Litany (" Lord, have mercy upon us ; Christ, have mercy upon us ; Lord, have mercy upon us "), the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Salutation of the priest and people (" The Lord be with you : " " And with thy spirit "), the Collect for the day, the Collect for the King,

The Introits of the Prayer-book of 1549 were printed with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.



the Epistle, Gospel, and Nicene Creed. The Exhortations, which were to be read in certain circumstances, were printed next, and then followed the offertory Sentences. The priest, in preparing the elements for consecration, was directed to add to the wine in the chalice "a little pure and clean water." Then came a second mutual Salutation of priest and people, the "Lift up your hearts," and the proper Prefaces as at present. Then the priest turned to the people and said, "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church," after which he turned to the altar and proceeded with the long Prayer of Consecration. From the latter have been formed three prayers of our Prayer-book, the first part forming our Prayer for the Church Militant; the middle part, our Consecration Prayer; and the last part, the prayer after Communion, which begins, "O Lord and heavenly Father." One passage in the Consecration Prayer differing essentially from our present prayers, was that commemorating the faithful departed, which ran as follows:—

"And here we do give unto Thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all Thy saints, from the beginning of the world: and chiefly in the glorious and most Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose examples (O Lord) and steadfastness in Thy faith and keeping Thy holy commandments,

grant us to follow. We commend unto Thy mercy (O Lord) all other Thy servants, which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace : Grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy, and everlasting peace, and that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of Thy Son, may altogether be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice : Come unto Me, O ye that be blessed of My Father, and possess the Kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world."

It will be seen that, though the Virgin is here expressly mentioned, no petition is offered to her ; while in the commendation of the faithful departed to the Divine mercy, the English Liturgy followed no peculiarly Romanist doctrine, but one held by the Universal Church in the purest ages. The Consecration Prayer contained also a definite Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, which in our office is lacking—

"With Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bl+ess and sanc+tify these Thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ."

The Sarum Use had ordered the elevation of the Host, or consecrated bread, so as to be seen by the people ; but a rubric now expressly forbade this. After the Prayer of Consecration came the Lord's Prayer and the Peace ; after which the priest said, "Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up for us,

once for all, when He bare our sins on His body upon the Cross ; for He is the very Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world ; wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord."

The office then went on as in the "Order of the Communion" described in the last chapter. The Exhortation, "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins," was followed by the Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, the Prayer of Humble Access, and the words of administration—all as in the "Order of the Communion." Differing from our present use, the bread was to be delivered into the mouth of the communicant, not into his hand. The *Agnus Dei* (of course in English) was directed to be sung during the Communion ; and after the Communion some one sentence of New Testament Scripture was to be sung as an anthem out of a list provided for the purpose. After this came a third salutation of the priest and people ; and then the priest gave "thanks to God in the name of all them that had communicated," the prayer appointed for this purpose being the second prayer after the Communion in our present office, "Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank Thee," etc. The whole concluding with the Peace of God. It may be mentioned that two separate sets of Collects, Epistles, and Gospels were provided for Christmas Day and Easter Day, following an ancient custom founded upon the necessity on those festivals of more than one celebration.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

#### *Continued.*

THE other principal differences between the Prayer-book of 1549 and our own will be sought in the other offices which have not yet been considered, notably those for Baptism, for Matrimony, for the Visitation of the Sick, and for the Burial of the Dead.

In the Office for the Public Baptism of Infants the hortatory parts are, as usual, an addition to the old offices, and are taken principally from the exhortations in a book called "Hermann's Consultation,"<sup>1</sup> the influence of which on this part of the Prayer-book is very considerable. For the rest, we must notice in this (and in our own) office three distinct parts. The first part is really (at least in origin) an introductory office, and is marked as such in the Prayer-book of 1549 by a rubric directing the people to assemble at the

Office for  
Public  
Baptism.

Three distinct  
parts in this  
office.

<sup>1</sup> A Continental work drawn up for Hermann, the Archbishop of Cologne, by Melancthon and others, reproducing in many instances a previous work of Luther.

church door, not at the font, as at present. It corresponds with the old Sarum Office for making catechumens, which, in accordance with the earliest custom of the Church, would naturally precede the rite of Baptism itself. It contains also a form of exorcism, commanding the unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to come out of the infants who are to be baptized. This over, the children were introduced as catechumens into the church with the words, "The Lord vouchsafe to receive you into His holy household, and to keep and govern you always in the same, that you may have everlasting life. Amen." After which the next part of the Baptismal Office followed at once. The second part is derived largely from the Sarum *Benedictio Fontis*, or consecration of the baptismal water, the characteristic point of this part being the prayer to "sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin." This necessitated another rubric. The water in the font was to be changed once a month at least, and the form of consecration was to be used every time it was changed. Again, the priest was to demand *of the child* whether he renounced the world, the flesh, and the devil; and each renunciation was to be given separately, the sponsor, of course, answering for the child. The third part of the

Trine im-  
mersion. office, or the actual Baptism, was administered in the same words as at present. But trine immersion, or dipping of the child three times

into the water, was enjoined, though "affusion," or merely sprinkling with water, was allowed, as at present, in the case of weakly children. The other important differences from our own in this office of 1549 were the direction to the minister to put "his white vesture, commonly called the chrisom," upon the newly baptized child, and to anoint the infant upon the head; the former ceremony for a token of the innocency granted by God's grace in this sacrament; the latter with the prayer that the Almighty would vouchsafe to anoint the infant with the unction of His Holy Spirit.

In the Marriage Service the vow of the man and woman was "till death us *depart*," the old English word, meaning "to separate," The Marriage Service. being changed to "do part" in 1662.

The man was to give to the woman "other tokens of spousage," such as gold or silver, as well as a ring. The sign of the cross was to be used by the priest in the benediction after the joining of hands, as well as in the final blessing. And the concluding rubric, in the spirit of the Sarum Office, where the Wedding Mass formed part of the Marriage Service, added that the new-married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the Holy Communion.

In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick the form of Absolution was as now; but the rubric ordering its use contained another Office for the Visitation of the Sick. clause (removed in 1552) directing the same form of Absolution to be used in all private

confessions. Provision was also made for anointing the sick person if he desired it, with oil, the anointing to be done on the forehead or breast only, with the sign of the cross.

The Office for the Burial of the Dead has undergone many alterations since 1549. The dead body, according to the rubric of 1549, was to be met at the church stile; and, at the grave, the priest, casting earth upon the corpse, was to say, "I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground: earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust"—and so on as at the Committal in the present office. The prayers following contained petitions that the soul of the departed, and all the souls of God's elect, might fully receive God's promises and be made perfect altogether. The office ended with a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for a celebration of the Holy Communion. This would mean, in pre-Reformation times, provision for a Mass for the dead. There is a "collect," expressly so called, at the end of our present office, which is a remnant of this old usage, but the collect of 1549 contained a petition, no longer there, that the departed soul might at the general resurrection rise to eternal joy.

Provision was made with regard to vestments, in "certain notes" printed at the end of the book. In the saying or singing of Mattins or Evensong, in baptizing, and burying, the minister, in parish



churches and chapels annexed to the same, was to use a surplice. The clergy belonging to cathedral churches and colleges, and any graduate when preaching, might also use such <sup>Vestments.</sup> hoods as pertained to their several degrees. A bishop, when celebrating the Holy Communion in a church, or when executing any other public ministration, was to wear, besides his rochette, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff "in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain."

This Prayer-book of 1549 was published after many years of careful consideration. The committee appointed for the revision of the Service-books had met early in 1543,<sup>1</sup> and we know that they had before them the views of the Continental Reformers. The book was submitted to Convocation at the end of 1548, and was there discussed. It was then laid before Parliament on the 9th of December. The First Act of Uniformity, ordering its general use on Whit Sunday, the 9th of June following, passed the House of Lords on the 15th, and the House of Commons on the 21st of January, 1549. Its publication put an end to the different Uses of the great cathedrals, for the Act provided that henceforth there was to be but one Use throughout the realm.

<sup>1</sup> Joyce's *Sacred Synods*, p. 466.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE PRAYER-BOOK OF 1552.

IT was said above that the Prayer-book of 1549 was to be regarded as the culminating point of liturgical reformation in England. For the changes that it has undergone since have been due, not so much to a feeling that there was anything false in its doctrine, or anything in it which was without precedent in the earliest usage of the Church, as to the spirit of reaction against Romanism as such. The revisers of 1549 set themselves to find out what was Catholic truth, and were not prejudiced against any doctrine or ceremony simply because it had been used during the period of Roman influence. They took the Bible and the belief of the Christian Church of the first five centuries as their standard in doctrinal matters, recognizing the fact that by so doing they would be independent of any peculiarly Roman error which had grown up since that time and been grafted into the various formularies of the Church. So far as was consistent with these principles, they

Principles of  
the first  
revision.

retained the ancient forms; and they added nothing which had not some authority in ancient precedent.

In the further history of the Prayer-book we encounter a different spirit. Rites and ceremonies which were not peculiarly Roman, but which were common to the worship of the whole Christian Church long before the East separated from the West, began now to be called in question, because they were known to most people only through their association with the <sup>Dislike of</sup> Romanism. manifold abuses of Rome. And so such things as vestments, and incense, and the like, the use of which had been actually enjoined in Old Testament times by Holy Writ itself, in the temple as well as in the tabernacle, came to be looked upon with the same dislike as the sale of indulgences or the worship of images.

It was on the continent of Europe that the reaction against Rome went furthest: in England it had been restrained within due bounds by the strong-handed interference of Henry VIII., who disliked the overbearing tone of the Continental Reformers. But after his death their influence began to tell more strongly, and it was probably due to the desire to come to terms with their followers in England that the changes of 1552 were made.

Calvin made it his business to write to the young king (then only twelve years old) and to the

Protector Somerset, urging them to push the Reformation further than it had gone at present.<sup>1</sup>

Foreign  
influence.

And so we find two foreigners, neither of whom could even speak English, established in Edward VI.'s reign, as King's Professors of Divinity—Peter Martyr at Oxford, and Martin Bucer at Cambridge—whose Protestantism would, it was hoped, effectually influence the rising generation of the English clergy.

Bucer made the acquaintance of the First Prayer-book through the medium of an interpreter,<sup>2</sup> and gave God thanks that its reformation had reached so high a degree of purity, for he had noticed

Bucer's  
opinion about  
the book of  
1549.

nothing in its ceremonies which was not either taken from the Word of God, or which was not at least agreeable to it on a reasonable interpretation.<sup>3</sup> He, nevertheless, drew up in Latin an elaborate *Censura*, or criticism of the whole book, savouring of the prevalent Continental Protestantism of his day. His principal fear is that of superstition, the avoidance of which, as to so many men of his school, seems to be of more importance than reverence. Hence he objects to

<sup>1</sup> See Letter to Duke of Somerset, in State Paper Office, dated October 22, 1548. (*Op.*, tom. viii. p. 39, "Epistolæ et Responsa.")

<sup>2</sup> "Librum istum sacrorum per interpretem, quantum potui, cognovi diligenter" (Buceri *Prologus in Censuram*).

<sup>3</sup> His words are, "Nec enim quicquam in illis [cærimoniis] deprehendi, quod non sit ex verbo Dei desumptum, aut saltem ei non adversetur commode acceptum" (*ibid.*).

kneeling at the Communion, and to the direction to place upon the altar *only* so much bread and wine as the communicants were likely to require, as implying a superstitious notion as to the effect of consecration on such portions as were not consumed. He objects to prayer for the dead, and to the phrase, "sleep of peace," as implying a sleep of the soul; he objects to making the sign of the cross in consecrating the elements, and to the clause of the Prayer of Consecration asking that the elements may become to us the Body and Blood of Christ. He dislikes also the practice of having a second Communion on Christmas Day and Easter Day, as it implies some peculiar sanctity in those festivals, whereas people ought to communicate every Lord's day. The Office of Public Baptism, he thinks, ought to be begun at the font, where the congregation can hear, instead of at the church door. He objects to the chrism, the anointing, the signing with the cross, and the exorcism; and he would do away with the clause intimating the sanctification of the baptismal water. He would alter the phrase "come" (used of the infants) to some other, signifying that they were brought; and he would have no phrase, not even when signing with the cross, addressed to the infant himself. In the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, he would have the anointing removed, and in the Burial Service all commendation of the departed soul to God. He would have churches

closed except during divine service, in order to prevent persons walking about and talking in them ; and he would stop bell-ringing altogether, except, perhaps, as a reminder to the public services.

The tendency of the foreign criticism is well expressed by Bucer, in this *Censura*. But, although almost all the points mentioned were altered in the revised book of 1552, the changes were not immediately due to Bucer's personal opinions, having been in the air for some time previously. The point to be observed is the entirely different spirit from that of the first English Reformers, in which the work of revision is approached, the prescriptive usage of centuries counting little against the more widely interpreted right of private judgment (amounting too often to personal prejudice), and the ever-present dread of superstition.

The representations made to the king and to Cranmer apparently had their effect, and the work of revising the First Prayer-book was proceeded with almost immediately after its publication. The revision was submitted, not to Convocation, but to a committee of divines with the archbishop at their head. It is generally thought that this committee must have been the same as that to which the revision of the Ordinal<sup>1</sup> was entrusted. This Ordinal was included in the second book by the second Act of Uniformity. As for the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 56 (note).

canonical authority of the book, there are no records to show that it ever received the sanction of Convocation, and there are many reasons for thinking that it was submitted to Parliament without this. The rubric at the end of the Communion Service, commonly known as the Black Rubric, declaring that by kneeling at the Communion no adoration was intended to the "real and essential presence<sup>1</sup> of Christ's natural flesh and blood," was apparently inserted at the last moment before printing, at the mere instance of the Privy Council.<sup>2</sup> The second Act of Uniformity passed both Houses on the 6th of April, 1552, and the book was to come into general use on All Saints' Day in that year.

*The Black  
Rubric.*

The alterations to be noticed have already been anticipated in some degree in the account of

<sup>1</sup> The words now are, "No Adoration is intended . . . to . . . any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." The revisers of 1661 made this alteration, holding the real and *essential*, if not corporal presence.

<sup>2</sup> Privy Council Register, October 27, 1552. Hooper, who had lately returned from Zurich, and many others who were under Calvinistic influences, violently opposed kneeling at the Holy Communion, on the ground both that it was contrary to the posture observed at the institution of the Sacrament, and that it implied superstitious adoration of the elements. Cranmer wrote to the Council, that if the first objection were to be followed, reclining on the ground ought to be the proper posture; as to the second, it would imply an actually contemptuous reception if people kneeling were to stand or sit to receive, and then immediately to kneel down again. (Dom. Ed. VI., xv. 15.)



Bucer's objections, which represent fairly the opinions of the Protestant party at this time. The changes may be summarized as follows:—

In the Daily Morning Prayer the list of Scripture Sentences, with the Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, were all inserted before the Lord's Prayer, which in the office of 1549 had begun Mattins. This was in accordance with a general principle of the Reformers to explain to the people the meaning of the service in which they were about to engage. With this Exhortation, explaining the various purposes of thus publicly assembling together, may be compared the similar opening of the Office for Public Baptism and of the Communion Service.

In the Communion Office the Introits were removed. After the Lord's Prayer and Collect the Ten Commandments were inserted with their responses, as a means of self-examination for those intending to communicate. In the Consecration Prayer the name of the Virgin, the thanksgiving for the Patriarchs and Prophets, the sign of the cross at the Consecration of the Elements, and the Invocation of the Word and of the Holy Spirit, were all left out. The prayer itself was cut up into three separate parts, forming now the Prayer for the Church Militant, the Prayer of Consecration, and the first of the two Prayers after the Communion. The words of Administration were changed to "Take

Sentences,  
etc., added to  
Morning  
Prayer.

Alterations  
in the  
Communion  
Office.

this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him by faith with thanksgiving," and "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful"—these words being chosen as colourless of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which the words before used seemed to imply, by speaking of the "Body of Christ" and the "Blood of Christ" at the delivery of the elements. For a similar reason the Prayer of Humble Access, which had hitherto been said kneeling in front of the altar *after* the consecration, was removed to a position *before* the Consecration Prayer, lest it should imply an adoration of the Sacrament. The "Hosannah in the highest: Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord," was attenuated down to the last clause of the Preface, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord most high;" and the *Agnus Dei*, which the Book of 1549 had ordered to be sung "in the Communion time," was left out altogether.

In Baptism the form of exorcism was omitted, as were also the anointing with the chrism, the use of the chrisom or white robe, and the trine immersion.

Baptism.

In the Offices for the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, the anointing with oil was left out, and also the rubric about using, in all private confessions, the form of absolution there prescribed. And no direction was given about reserving portions of the bread

Visitation  
of the  
Sick.

and wine which had been consecrated at a public celebration.

In the Marriage Service the tokens of spousage—the gold and silver—were no longer required, and all mention of them was omitted.

**Marriage Service.** The sign of the cross was also removed from both of the forms of blessing.

In the Burial Service the principal alterations were connected with the desire to avoid praying for the dead person. All clauses implying the validity of this doctrine were removed. And, to prevent the Communion Office provided by the First Prayer-book from being used as a Mass for the Dead, it also was omitted altogether.

**Burial Service.**

The rubric about vestments reversed the directions of 1549. It enjoined that “the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but, being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and, being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.”

**Vestments.**

The Act of Uniformity, which enforced the universal use of the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., expressly declares that the First Prayer-book had contained nothing but what was agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church, and states that the reason why the earlier book had been altered, or, as the phrase ran, “been

faithfully and godly perused and made fully perfect," was because divers doubts had arisen about the ministration of the same, "rather by the curiosity of the Minister and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause."

The revisal of 1552 left the Prayer-book, in the main, as we have it. The changes since made have been for the most part additions, or made chiefly in its arrangement and verbal expression. Henceforth we have to consider how objections made against it were dismissed, rather than any alterations of great doctrinal significance.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE CROWN AND THE PURITANS.

PROBABLY the events which did more than anything to establish the English Prayer-book in the real and lasting favour of the English people were those of the reign of Queen Mary. Then, for the

Effect of  
Queen Mary's  
opposition. first time, when the queen's unhappy opposition to its use seemed allied with

the enemies of national liberty, it began to appeal to the hearts of Englishmen. At the thought of the Spanish Inquisition and of the re-intrusion of the Papal authority, the principles of the Reformation assumed a tinge of patriotism which they had never previously worn. But in the first year of Queen Mary, Edward VI.'s Acts of Uniformity were repealed; all copies of the English Prayer-book were ordered to be delivered up to be burnt within fifteen days, and the old Latin services were everywhere restored. And many of the more prominent Protestant divines fled to the Continent, to return in more congenial times, with ideas, as we shall see, gathered on foreign soil, which had better been left behind.

Elizabeth succeeded to this state of things on the 17th of November, 1558. She proceeded in religious matters with her usual caution, and though such changes as were made in her reign were probably the expression of her own views, she took care that they should always have the appearance of proper authority. She accepted from Parliament the title of "Supreme Governor" of the English Church, with all that it involved. But to begin with, she ordered, by a proclamation, that no change whatever should be made "in any public prayer, rite, or ceremony," though she allowed to be read in English the Gospels and Epistles, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and the revised Litany of Henry VIII. When the work of dealing with religious matters was taken in hand at the beginning of the following year, it appeared that, if the queen's wish was to avoid anything like idolatry and superstition, it was also her intention to discourage the other extreme of laxity in divine service.

*Preliminary  
directions of  
Elizabeth.*

The queen's adviser was Guest, afterwards Bishop of Rochester and of Salisbury, her almoner. A committee of divines was appointed to consider the question of divine service, and Guest acted therein for Archbishop Parker, who was absent from illness. The queen's influence was also exercised over this committee through the Secretary of State, Lord Cecil, who nominally represented the

Privy Council,<sup>1</sup> and who saw that the proposed changes did not go beyond the queen's wishes. On the 2nd of April, 1559, an Act of Parliament repealed that of Queen Mary, which had annulled Edward VI.'s two Acts of Uniformity, and thus the Prayer-book of 1552 was re-established. It contained, however, the following additions and alterations due to the action of the queen's committee:—

(1) The words of administration of the elements in the Communion Service—the change most characteristic of the book—were the combination of the clause used in the First Prayer-book with that used in the Second. This is our present form. It does not enforce the doctrine of the Real Presence, but is compatible with it.

Changes of  
1559.

(2) The "Black Rubric" on kneeling at the Communion was omitted.

(3) In the Litany, the clause, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities," was omitted.

(4) The "accustomed place," *i.e.* the chancel, was reappointed for the reading of the Morning and Evening Prayer.

(5) A table of special Lessons for Sundays was inserted, thus breaking the earlier theory of a *daily* service, in which the Scripture reading went

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cardwell's *Conferences*, p. 48; and Strype's *Ann.*, i. 120, and ii. 459.



on continuously. (No parallel arrangement of special Psalms for Sundays was made; they were still read continuously, as now, following the rule of 1549.)

(6) A rubric ordered "that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all Times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth" (*i.e.* in 1549).<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the Prayer-book as it stood even now, it is almost certain that the Pope, Pius IV., acknowledged the catholicity of its doctrine; and it is said that he offered to sanction its use, provided the queen would acknowledge the Papal Supremacy.<sup>2</sup> It remained without any alteration throughout the rest

The Pope said  
to acknow-  
ledge the  
Prayer-book.

<sup>1</sup> This is the "Ornaments Rubric," which has acquired such notoriety of late years. It is based on 1 Eliz., cap. 2, sec. 25, which adds to the words above quoted, "until other order shall be therein taken." The disputes have turned upon two points: (1) What the ornaments were which were in use in the second year of Edward VI. (2) Whether "other order" *has* been since taken. For Archbishop Parker published some "Advertisements" on the subject a few years later, which it is probable the queen desired to be observed, though she was unwilling to incur any odium by enforcing them by her own authority.

<sup>2</sup> See a despatch from Walsingham to Burghley, in the Calendar of State Papers (Foreign, Eliz., 1571, cxviii. p. 138). "Which form of prayers the Pope, as I am informed, would have by counsell confirmed as Catholic, so the Q. my mistress would have acknowledged the same as received from him." Lord Coke's *Speech and Charge* (London, 1607) is emphatic to the same effect.

of Elizabeth's long reign ; for though the ferment of theological discussion had by no means subsided, Elizabeth would listen to no further proposals of change, having her father's dislike to the restless and factious spirit which seemed to be engendered by the unlimited right of private judgment.

Accordingly, though discontent with the Prayer-book was not allowed to have its way, it went on smouldering beneath the surface. In fact, no alteration short of tearing the ancient offices to pieces, and substituting for their Catholic breadth the new and narrow developments of favourite Lutheran or Calvinistic doctrine, could have satisfied the present opponents of the Prayer-book. As this foreign spirit of reaction against Romanism, rather than anything of purely English growth, had intruded itself into the revision of the Liturgy, so it fostered the movement which had now begun to lay the foundations of modern Nonconformity in England.

We have seen that the Marian persecution forced many of the English Protestants to flee to the continent of Europe. They found  
Rise of the Puritans. refuge there in the various Churches which had parted most completely from anything like tradition in the past, and they came back to England in Elizabeth's reign full of ultra-Protestant notions. From basing religious doctrine upon the written Word of God alone, interpreted by the individual reason as distinct

from the interpretation of the Church, and from divesting religious worship, as far as possible, of all ceremonial, they received the name of Puritans. The history of some of the Continental Churches, particularly Frankfort and Geneva, where these apparently harmless doctrines were followed out to their logical conclusions, presents a lamentable picture of strife and disunion. And some of the saddest pages of English Church history follow the sincere propagation of similar tenets in England.

No sooner was Elizabeth removed by death, than the Puritans, who during her reign had been steadily growing in number, took the opportunity of approaching the new sovereign, James I., in the hope of obtaining

The  
Millenary  
Petition.

from him the redress which they had been unable to obtain from his predecessor. A petition, commonly called the "Millenary Petition," from its mention of more than a thousand of His Majesty's subjects and ministers, whose names were appended, "all groaning as under a common burthen of human rites and ceremonies," was presented to the king immediately upon his accession. This "common burthen" consisted of the following offences, which it proceeded to mention :

Puritan  
objections.

The cross in baptism, and interrogatories ministered to infants, and the whole rite of Confirmation,—all of which, the Petition urged, as being superfluous, might be removed ; as well as the order

for the use of the cap and surplice, and of the ring in marriage. It prayed that baptism might not be ministered by women<sup>1</sup>; that the Communion should not be administered without a previous examination of the intending communicants; that it should be ministered with a sermon; that the longsomeness of service should be abridged, and church songs and music moderated; that no popish opinion should be any more taught or defended; that no ministers should be charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; and that the Canonical Scriptures only should be read in the church.

The king made answer that he was persuaded that the Church of England was, both in constitution and doctrines, agreeable to God's Word, and near to the condition of the Primitive Church. Yet, although the bishops and the universities would fain have allowed things to remain under their present settlement, he proceeded at once to arrange for an assembly of divines, in which ecclesiastical differences might be debated.

This assembly did not meet till the year after the king's accession, being apparently delayed by the prevalence of the plague. In the meanwhile the Puritans seem to have shown their real spirit. They agitated in a very violent if not seditious manner, and

James I.  
decides for a  
conference.

Attitude  
of the  
Puritans.

<sup>1</sup> The rubric of 1549 had never *ordered* this, only allowed it, and that only by implication and in cases of emergency.

called down upon themselves a sharp rebuke from the king, in the shape of a proclamation,<sup>1</sup> in which he refers to "some men's spirits, whose heat tendeth rather to combustion than to reformation;" and in which he notices their "gathering subscriptions of multitudes of vulgar persons to supplications to be submitted to us, to crave that reformation, which if there be any cause to make, is more in our heart than in theirs."

And so the Conference met at Hampton Court Palace on the 14th of January, 1604. The Puritans were represented by Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Sparkes, Mr. Knewstubbs, Conference at Hampton Court. and Mr. Chaderton; the other side, by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), eight bishops, seven deans, and two doctors of divinity. The king apparently proceeded upon his authority as Supreme Governor of the Church,<sup>2</sup> and upon the statute of Queen Elizabeth, which empowered the sovereign with proper advice to take "other order" in ecclesiastical matters. James's confidence in his own theological acumen made him accept this position with great complacency. Hence the Hampton Court Conference centres about the king. He argues first with the bishops and then with the Puritans about the Ceremonies the great difficulty. disputed points, having no difficulty in satisfying both parties with regard to doctrine, but finding the Puritan ministers averse to

<sup>1</sup> 1 Jac. I. Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.*, ii. 46.    <sup>2</sup> See p. 81 above.

many of the ceremonies allowed by the Prayer-book. But this question of ceremonies seemed to resolve itself into one of obedience to Church authority. "If they had no Word of God against them," he remarked, "but all authority for them, being already in the Church, he would never take them away."<sup>1</sup> No arguments of any weight seem to have been brought against these ceremonies, and the contention of the king and the bishops that they "could not be proved to be contrary to the Word of God, but were all confirmed by the Fathers, and that long before Popery," seemed to be unanswerable. The four representatives of the Puritan party, men apparently of learning and moderation, doubtless acquiesced in the practical justice of the decisions finally arrived at, though they may not have been to their personal taste. But the more violent of the party outside were at no pains to conceal their disappointment when the results of the conference were made known, and their violent and intemperate language made it obvious that the ecclesiastical war in England was not yet at an end.

Perhaps the most important result of the Hampton Court Conference was the order (arising from a very just complaint of the Puritans) made for a uniform translation of the Bible, which, completed seven years later (1611),

<sup>1</sup> The letter of Dr. James Montague, who was present at the Conference. Printed in Cardwell's *Conferences*, p. 140.



is our present Authorized Version. The changes made in the Prayer-book may be summarized as follows:—

(1) The Absolution was explained by the addition of the words “or remission of sins.”

(2) The rubric of 1549, in the Office for Private Baptism, had implicitly allowed any person, and therefore a layman or a woman, to baptize an infant in urgent cases. The rubric was now altered in such a way as to allow only a “lawful minister” to perform the ceremony.

(3) The Office of Confirmation was explained by adding to its title, “or Laying-on of hands upon children baptized and able to render an account of their faith.”

(4) In the Gospels for the Second Sunday after Easter and for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity the opening words, “Christ [or, ‘Jesus’] said *to His disciples*,” were changed to “Jesus said.”

(5) In the Catechism an explanation of the Sacraments was added.

(6) The request of the Puritans, that Lessons should not be taken from the Apocrypha<sup>1</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> Apocrypha: βίβλια ἀπόκρυφα—“books the origin of which was not clear to the Fathers” (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv.). Ἀπόκρυφος means (1) hidden, secret; (2) spurious. The Apocryphal books are (1 and 2) the two Books of Esdras; (3) Tobit; (4) Judith; (5) the conclusion of Book of Esther; (6) Wisdom of Solomon; (7) Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus; (8) Baruch; (9) Song of the Three Holy Children; (10) History of Susannah; (11) Bel and the Dragon; (12) the Prayer of Manasseh; (13 and 14) the two Books of Maccabees.



acceded to, except in the case of a very few chapters, which, however, were not to be read as having the canonical authority of Scripture.

(7) A Prayer for the Royal Family (the basis of the present prayer) was inserted.

(8) Special Thanksgivings were added, at the request of the Puritans, to correspond with the special Prayers for rain, fair weather, plenty, peace, and deliverance from enemies, and deliverance from plague.

Matters of mere ceremonial remained as before. Objectors to vestments, to the sign of the cross in baptism, to the use of the ring in marriage, were reminded of the authority of the Church, which might well be followed in such small matters, since not even their defenders attached any spiritual significance to them.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE PURITAN ASCENDENCY, AND THE DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP.

THE history of the Prayer-book during the half-century that followed the Hampton Court Conference is involved in the political and religious turmoil of that period. But, as the furious opposition of the Romanists in the reign of Queen Mary made the book dear to many who, till then, had looked upon it as the expression of a "State religion," so the equally bitter opposition of the Puritans, in their period of ascendancy, made it clear to the majority of Englishmen that no real religious freedom lay in the other extreme. During the Commonwealth, the Book of Common Prayer was rigorously suppressed, and the Presbyterian form of worship was imposed by law. But the book which was substituted by the Parliament fell from its own utter unfitness to meet the religious aspirations of the nation; and, when the experiment was over, the Prayer-book was left at a height of popularity which has never since been seriously threatened.

Effects of  
Puritan  
opposition.

Yet it is well, perhaps, that the opposition to the English Liturgy should for once have been successful—should for once have allied itself with the full strength of the civil power, and have shown its unloveliness in supremacy ; for so men have before their eyes an object-lesson which they will not readily forget.

To pass briefly over this period. The Long Parliament, which met in 1640, was composed for the most part of Puritan members, and before the end of the next year it had taken a way of its own in ecclesiastical reformation. Bishops were thrown into prison ; in many places fonts and organs and ecclesiastical vestments of all kinds were removed from the churches ; statues of saints, monumental effigies, and stained-glass windows were ruthlessly broken to pieces, as “monuments of superstition ;” and copies of the Book of Common Prayer were seized and committed to wholesale destruction.

On July 1, 1643, the “Westminster Assembly” of divines was convened by the Parliament. Before it separated, it had pledged itself to replace the bishops by presbyters, and the Book of Common Prayer by the Scottish “Directory for Worship.” It was not, however, till the 3rd of January, in 1645, that the two Houses of Parliament agreed to the exact form of the Directory which was to be authorized ; and not until August 23 in that year that it was forbidden to use “in any church, chapel, or public

Westminster  
Assembly of  
divines.

place of worship ; or in any private place or family within the kingdom of England," the Book of Common Prayer. By this ordinance those who used the Book of Common Prayer, either in churches *or in their families*, were to forfeit five pounds for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, and were to suffer a year's imprisonment without bail or mainprise for the third.<sup>1</sup>

It may be well to describe briefly the "Directory," which the Parliament of 1645 enforced as a substitute for the Book of Common Prayer. As an unique experiment, deliberately made, and tried for twenty years in England, during which time the opponents of the Prayer-book and of the ancient Church of the country really had their own way, this measure is full of interest and instruction for our own times. The Directory was practically the same as that drawn up by the Scottish Solemn League and Covenant, and was <sup>The</sup> Directory. therefore not English in its origin at all. Its full title was, "A Directory for the Publike Worship of God throughout the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland." As its name implies, it was not a collection of forms of prayer, but rather a book of hints and directions to ministers as to the manner in which public worship was to be conducted. It was not meant for the use of the laity, the latter being entirely in the minister's hands during divine service.

<sup>1</sup> See Collier, *Eccles. Hist.*, viii. 291.

Being a manual of directions, and not of set forms, the Directory was a much smaller work than the Book of Common Prayer. An ordinary copy,<sup>1</sup> which we will briefly examine, consists of only sixty-five moderate-sized pages. Of these, eight are occupied by the preface, explaining how the Liturgy of the Church of England had “proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the Reformed Churches abroad ;”<sup>2</sup> and how the present work was meant to “satisfy consciences, and answer the expectation of other Reformed Churches.”<sup>3</sup> The next twenty-four pages (which, added to the preface, make about one-half of the book) are occupied with general directions about public worship in the assembly. The minister is to begin with prayer, extempore, but following the directions which are given. Reading of Holy Scripture follows. How large a portion shall be read at once is left to the discretion of the minister : it is to be “out of the best allowed translation,” but nothing out of the Apocrypha.<sup>4</sup> Then the minister who is to preach is directed to endeavour, by prayer before the sermon, to get his own and his readers’ hearts to be rightly affected with their sins, and to call upon God to the following effect. After which follow no fewer than twelve pages of suggestions for this

Contents of  
the Directory.  
  
Morning and  
Evening  
Service of the  
Directory.

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. 3408, cc. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Page 6.

<sup>3</sup> Page 2.

<sup>4</sup> Page 11.

prayer. Beginning with an acknowledgment of both original and actual sin, "he is to bewail our blindness of minde, hardness of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security [*i.e.* carelessness], lukewarmnesse, barrennesse," etc.,<sup>1</sup> and "earnestly to supplicate for mercy onely for the bitter sufferings and precious merits of that our onely Saviour Jesus Christ." "To pray for the blessing of God upon all the Reformed Churches," and "for the Kings Majestie;" for the Royal Family, for Parliament, for the Universities and Schools, for seasonable weather and fruitful seasons, for the minister, and for his hearers, "that the Lord would circumcise their ears and hearts to hear, love, and receive with meeknesse the ingrafted Word, and strengthen them against whatsoever may hinder their profitable and saving hearing." By an extempore prayer in this strain (which must have attained a considerable length by the time the minister had touched upon all these and many other suggested points) the minister was to introduce his sermon, the suggestions for which occupy the next six pages. The sermon ended, the minister is to offer up prayer again. This time he is to give thanks for the rich and heavenly blessings revealed in God's Word—"as, namely, Election, Vocation, Adoption, Justification, Sanctification, and hope of Glory." Other fit themes for prayer are also suggested: for the Covenant, for preparation for Death, for the Armies, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Page 14.

The rest of the book comes under the following heads: of Baptism, of the Lord's Supper, of the Solemnization of Marriage, of Visitation of the Sick. At all of which the minister exercises to the full his own "gift of prayer."

We may notice that the words of administration at the Communion are—for the bread, "Take  
At Communion. ye, eat ye; this is the Body of Christ which is broken for you; Do this in remembrance of Him;" for the cup, "This Cup is the new Testament in the Blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; Drink ye all of it."

In the Marriage Service, after the preliminary prayer and exhortation, the contracting parties  
At Marriage. make their vows to one another "before a competent number of credible witnesses," and without any further ceremony the minister pronounces them to be husband and wife.

In the Visitation of the Sick, the minister is to examine the sick person, especially touching  
Visitation of the Sick. Repentance and Faith, and to give him all necessary instruction; and he "may improve the occasion to exhort those about the sick person to consider their own mortality."

Only a few lines are given to directions for the  
Burial. Burial of the Dead, but these are comprehensive, at least in what they forbid. There is to be no prayer, reading, and singing, "either in going to, or at, the grave."



By the Directory the strict observance of Sundays was enjoined, but saints' days were not to be observed. On Sundays there was to be cessation not only from unnecessary labour, but from all sports and pastimes. What time was vacant before or after public prayer was to be spent in reading, meditation, and the repetition of sermons, and the heads of families were to call the latter to an account of what they had heard.

Such, in barest outline, was the substitute devised by the Puritans for the Book of Common Prayer. From 1645 till the restoration of the monarchy, its use was enforced by law. Irksome, indeed, must that period have been to loyal adherents of the Church of England, during those fifteen years when the The Puritan Interdict. Puritan Interdict lay upon the land; when it was a crime, punishable with fine or imprisonment, to read one of the old collects even in the ears of the dying; when, for fear of superstition, the marriage vow might not be sealed in the name of the Holy Trinity, nor any prayer be uttered as the dead were laid to rest; when the voice of the old Liturgy was silenced in the churches; and when its consolations and devotional guidance, at the most sacred crises of family life, were supplanted by the officious ministrations of a practically alien creed.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE SAVOY CONFERENCE.

WITH the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 the old state of things in Church matters was also restored in England. Before the return of Charles II. from his exile, commissioners were sent from the Parliament to confer with him at The Hague, and these were accompanied by a party of Presbyterian<sup>1</sup> divines. His answer to the latter, who had

Views of  
Charles II.

ventured, in a private audience, to express the hope that the king would not use the Church of England Liturgy in his chapel, marked the line that he was likely to take in Church matters. He told them with some warmth<sup>2</sup> that "whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him. . . . He was sure he would have no other used in his own chapel." When they besought him, with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued

<sup>1</sup> Presbyterians, *i.e.* men who believed in the government of the Church by presbyters, or elders, as distinct from government by bishops, or Episcopacy. This was the predominant form of Puritanism at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion*, iii. 990.

by his chaplains, he told them again "that when he gave others so much liberty, he would not be restrained himself; that it had been always held a decent habit in the Church, constantly practised in England till these late ill times; . . . that though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and indecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never in the least degree, by his own practice, discountenance the good old order in which he had been bred." Accordingly, the Liturgy of the Church of England was restored in the king's own chapel immediately after his return.<sup>1</sup>

The king, however, could do no other than allow the points to be laid before him in which the Book of Common Prayer was said to offend. Those mentioned as needing removal were kneeling at the Communion, the observance of saints' days and other holy days of human institution, the use of the surplice, the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

Presbyterian  
objections.

Many other points, indeed, relating for the most part to Church government and to ceremonies, were raised by the ministers in their address and proposals to the king; but they expressed themselves as satisfied concerning the lawfulness of

<sup>1</sup> It had never been *legally* abrogated. The Ordinance of January, 1645, had never received the royal sanction—had, in fact, been repudiated by a Royal Proclamation the same year.

<sup>2</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 253; Neal, *Puritans*, iii. 51.

a Liturgy, or form of public worship, provided the matter of it were agreeable to the Word of God, and suited to the ordinances and necessities of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

The king, apparently, had determined, before his arrival in England,<sup>2</sup> to follow the precedent of James I., in calling a synod of divines to settle differences in matters of religion. Accordingly, he issued a Royal warrant on the 25th of March, 1661, authorizing a number of divines, equally divided according to their Episcopal or Presbyterian persuasions, to review the Book of Common Prayer, and make such alterations therein as should be thought necessary.<sup>3</sup> Among the twelve bishops on the Episcopal side who were appointed on this commission were Frewen, Archbishop of York; Sheldon, Bishop of London and Master of the Savoy; Cosin, Bishop of Durham; and Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln; and among the nine assistants on the Episcopal side (who were appointed to take the place of absentees) were Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson. Among the twelve Presbyterian representatives were Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, and Mr. Richard Baxter; and, as on the other side, nine

A Conference  
decided on.

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> See "His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects." Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 560; Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 572. "His Majesty's letters patent for a commission of divines."

other ministers were appointed to supply possible vacancies.

The king's warrant appointed the Master's lodgings in the Savoy in the Strand as the place of meeting, from which the Commission is known as the Savoy Conference. The words in which the scope of the Commission is defined by the warrant must also be observed. It was to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most <sup>Revision to proceed upon ancient precedent.</sup> ancient Liturgies which had been used in the Church. It was to consider the objections and exceptions to be raised about the directions, rules, and forms contained in that book. But it was expressly stated that all unnecessary alteration of the forms and Liturgy of the Church of England, with which the people were already acquainted, was to be avoided.

Hence, as at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, the Book of Common Prayer was to be the object of attack, and the aim of the bishops would be the comparatively easy task of meeting the objections raised against it. This would be a very different business from compiling a new Liturgy, which was the task to which, apparently, the Presbyterians would fain have set themselves.<sup>1</sup>

At the first meeting of the Conference, which did not take place till the 15th of April, the Bishop of London called upon the Presbyterians

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 282.

to deliver their exceptions in writing, together with the additional forms and alterations which they desired. They entrusted this duty of preparing the additional forms to Richard Baxter ; Baxter's Liturgy. who forthwith drew up an entire Liturgy of his own, entirely ignoring those ancient models which for so many centuries had guided the public worship of the universal Church. Baxter also urged his friends to ask for everything which they thought desirable, and not to take account of the sentiments of their opponents. Accordingly, their exceptions to the Prayer-book, and Baxter's Liturgy, were submitted to the Commission.<sup>1</sup>

When the bishops gave in their answers to the objections which had been raised, they did so rather as men to whom matters had been referred for decision than as disputants. And in doing so, they adhered strictly to the terms of the royal warrant, which forbade alterations in the Prayer-book unless they could be shown to be necessary, and were approved of by both parties. During the last ten days of the Conference an attempt was made to come to closer quarters by means of a personal disputation. The bishops agreed to this, and three men were appointed by each side to conduct the controversy ; but it naturally resolved itself into a dispute between the two most impetuous champions of the six—Gunning and Baxter—from

<sup>1</sup> Baxter desired an optional use either of his "Reformed Liturgy" or of the old.



which, of course, nothing could be gained. From the Presbyterian point of view nothing was gained by this Conference. The very extravagance of their demands, under Baxter's leadership, made compromise impossible, while it was not difficult for the bishops to refute logically the objections urged against particular points. It may be interesting to quote a few of the exceptions of the Presbyterians, with the bishops' answers to them. They are important, as dealing with points raised at the last revision of the Prayer-book, and which, not being altered then, remain to this day stumbling-blocks to many Non-conformists.

With regard to the use of the old-fashioned Liturgy, the bishops urged that it was no argument to say that multitudes of sober, pious persons scrupled to use it, unless it became apparent that the Liturgy gave just grounds to make such scruples; and, on the other hand, the alterations proposed by the Presbyterians would themselves, if adopted, offend the generality of the soberest and most loyal children of the Church of England. For this reason they could not consent to accept the new Liturgy which was submitted for their approval.

With regard to the use of the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, and kneeling to receive the Communion, the bishops answered first in general terms, that not only power, but a command, had

Presbyterians  
ruin their  
own cause.

A new  
Liturgy  
impossible.



been given for all things to be done decently and in order (1 Cor. xiv. 40). Further, not inferiors but superiors must judge what was convenient and decent, and pretence of conscience was no exemption from obedience. So those things, admittedly indifferent, yet had in them a real goodness, a real fitness and decency, which had led to their being imposed. That these ceremonies had occasioned many divisions was no more fault of theirs than it was of the gospel that the preaching of it occasioned strife. As to the surplice, reason and experience taught that decent habits and ornaments preserved reverence—as in royal acts and acts of law, so in religious worship. And, in particular, there was no habit more suitable than white linen, which resembles purity and beauty. As to the cross, it was always used in the Church; and in token that we should not be ashamed of the cross of Christ, it was fit to be used still, and could not trouble the conscience of any that had a mind to be satisfied. As to kneeling at the Communion, it is the most decent posture for us, when we are to receive as it were from God's hand the greatest of the seals of the kingdom of heaven.

It was complained that the Lord's Prayer was so often used. Yet, said the bishops, Ceremonies have their use. it was used only twice in the Morning Service and twice in the Evening Service.<sup>1</sup> For

<sup>1</sup> The reason why the Lord's Prayer occurs twice in the Mattins

though it occurred in the Litany, in the Communion Service, and at Baptism, etc., yet these must be held to be quite separate offices, and it was not fit that the Lord's Prayer should be absent from any of them.

The *Gloria Patri*, it was said, was also sung too often. But this doxology,<sup>1</sup> being a solemn confession of the Blessed Trinity, was very short, and we could not give God too much glory. It was not so often repeated as the clause, "For His mercy endureth for ever," in Ps. cxxxvi.

There seemed no reason, the bishops averred, except the desire for change, to alter in the Litany the phrase "deadly sin" to "heinous sin," since the wages of sin is death; the phrase, "from sudden death," to "from dying suddenly;" the phrase, "*all* that travel," to "those that travel."

In the Communion Service, although some of the offertory sentences were from the Apocrypha, the bishops urged they might be useful to exhort people to pious liberality. The words, "That our sinful bodies may be made clean by His body, and our souls washed

and Evensong is, in origin, because of the combination of *two* old offices, in each of which it occurs (see p. 58). So the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of the Communion Service was not (in origin) a part of the *public* office, having been said by the priest in his private preparation. Even now this fact is marked by the congregation not joining in the "Amen" at its conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> Doxology = ascription of praise, *δοξολογία*.

through His most precious blood," were objected to on the ground that greater efficacy was ascribed to the blood than to the body. Yet, the bishops answer, "Our Lord's own words are, 'This is My blood, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins,' which He saith not explicitly of the body."

As the Presbyterians desired the minister to have power both to admit and to keep from the Lord's Table, so also they would have prevented the baptism of the children of atheists, heretics, and evil livers generally. The bishops answer that this is punishing the children for the parents' sake, and giving too great a power to the minister to judge which of his parishioners are atheists, heretics, or evil livers. It must be remembered that children have rights of their own to baptism, other than through their parents. As to the objection that every child that is baptized is called "regenerate," we must imagine that God's sacraments have their effects where the receiver does not actually put any bar against them—which an infant does not; and accordingly we may say (in faith) that every child baptized *is* regenerate by God's Holy Spirit; otherwise it seems this sacrament is nothing worth. With regard to baptism in private, the bishops agree that it is undesirable, but fitter than none at all.

From 1549 the Catechism had formed the introductory part of the Confirmation Service.

And until now the Catechism had ended with the explanation of the Lord's Prayer. In 1661 it was completed by the addition of the present explanation of the sacraments, <sup>Catechism  
and  
Confirmation.</sup> and it was printed separately from the Confirmation Service. In the latter the Presbyterians desired to leave out the last rubric, which declares that children baptized and dying before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved, though they be not confirmed. The bishops answered that they could not see what danger there could be of misleading the vulgar by teaching them what was undoubtedly true. It was also desired not to speak of the imposition of hands as a "sign of God's favour and goodness" towards those who were confirmed; to which the bishops replied that they knew no harm in speaking the language of the Holy Scripture, "Then laid they their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost" (Acts viii. 17). Though imposition of hands was not a sacrament, yet it was a very fit sign to certify the persons what is then done for them, as the prayer speaks. The prayer declaring that God had given to the persons who were brought to be confirmed "forgiveness of all their sins," was also the subject of comment. But the bishops refused to alter the words, saying that, notwithstanding the slips and frailties of the childhood of such persons even as seemed not seriously penitent, yet it was charitably presumed that they

had not totally lost what was given them in baptism, and that therefore this prayer for strength was particularly appropriate.

In the Marriage Service, objection was laid against the use of the ring, seeing that Romish Ritualists give frivolous or superstitious reasons for its use. The answer was that none of these frivolous reasons was given in the Prayer-book; the reason was a matter of purely human institution, given only as a pledge of fidelity and constant love. The formula pronouncing two persons man and wife, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," was objected to, on the ground that it might seem to favour those who regarded matrimony as a sacrament. The bishops replied that it was never heard before now that those words made a sacrament.

In the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, it was desired that it should be left to the minister's discretion to pronounce absolution or not; and that the words used should be, "I pronounce thee absolved," with the addition of the words, "if thou dost truly repent and believe," instead of simply, "I absolve thee." The bishops replied that if the sick person showed himself really penitent, and desirous of absolution, it ought not to be left to the minister's pleasure to deny him absolution. As for the words objected to, they were more scriptural

The wedding  
ring.

The ministry  
cannot  
withhold  
absolution.

(St. John xx. 23) than those which were suggested ; while repentance, as the condition of absolution, being in all cases presupposed, needed not to be expressed. In the same way, it was sought to leave it to the minister's discretion whether to give the Communion to a sick person or not ; the bishops, on the other hand, denying that a minister had power to refuse it to any who humbly desired it, and who in charity must be presumed to be penitent and fit to receive.

In the Burial Service, exception was taken against the form of committal to the ground, especially the clause, "in sure and cer-  
tain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." These words, and those of the prayer, " We give Thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased Thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world," and " That when we shall depart this life, we may rest in Him, as our hope is this our brother doth," could not, it was alleged, be used of persons who had not by their actual repentance given any ground for the hope. The answer of the bishops was a plea again for the widest charity, since none could say whether such persons did not inwardly and heartily repent at the last act.

*The Burial  
Service.*

Before the Conference of bishops and doctors was finished,<sup>1</sup> the Convocation of the Clergy of the

<sup>1</sup> By the terms of the Royal warrant it was only to sit for four months, thus ending on the 24th of July, 1661,



Canterbury province had met elsewhere (May 8), and drawn up a form of prayer for the 29th of May (the anniversary of the restoration of the monarchy), and another for the Baptism of Adults (our present form), made necessary by the neglect of this sacrament during the Commonwealth period. It was in the following sessions of this Convocation at the end of the year, at which the

Convocation  
makes the  
alterations  
of 1661.

results of the Savoy Conference were considered, and not by the Savoy Conference itself, that alterations were made in the Prayer-book. The Synod of York was represented in that of Canterbury by proxies, and on the 20th of December, 1661, the Book of Common Prayer, with its alterations, was thus adopted and subscribed by both Convocations. In April of the following year (1662) the book received the final assent of both Houses of Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

The principal alterations and additions in this book of 1661-2 are given below. Besides these, there were many merely verbal alterations, which, numbering something like six hundred, were unsuitable for discussion in Convocation and in Parliament. These verbal alterations had probably

Manuscript  
corrections  
adopted.

been made in the margin of a copy of the Prayer-book printed in 1634, by Cosin, Wren, and the other bishops who had been directed by Convocation to look after the matter ;

<sup>1</sup> See the account in Joyce's *Sacred Synods* ; and Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 372.



and they were adopted, with all the other alterations, when the whole of this volume was submitted to Convocation and adopted.<sup>1</sup> It was a copy of this Prayer-book of 1634, so corrected, and confirmed under the Great Seal, which was sent by the king to the Committee of the House of Lords on the 25th of February, 1662, and to which the Commons as well as the Lords finally gave their assent.<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen that such changes as were made in 1661 were not all in the direction desired by the Presbyterians. The Absolution was directed to be pronounced by the "priest," not by the "minister;" and the words, "bishops, priests, and deacons," were substituted in the Litany for "bishops, pastors, and ministers." The word "church," or "people," was also put in several places instead of "congregation," in order not to countenance the Presbyterian theory of Church government; and the Apocryphal book Bel and the Dragon was reinserted in the Calendar of Lessons.

General  
tendency of  
the changes.

The Morning and Evening Prayer were lengthened by the addition of the Prayers for the King, the Royal Family, the Clergy and people, the

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Before the Conference at the Savoy was over, the Commons (July 9, 1661) had revised a copy of the Prayer-book of 1604, which they seem to have chosen in preference to the later one of 1634, for fear of adopting interpolations said to have been made in the latter by Archbishop Laud (Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 376).

Prayer of St. Chrysostom, and the Grace. All these had previously been printed at the end of the Litany. The Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution were now printed for the first time at the beginning of Evening Service, exactly as they were at the beginning of the Morning Service in 1552.

Additions to  
Morning  
Prayer.

In the Litany, the words "rebellion" and "schism," suggested, of course, by the late rebellion, were added in the petition against "sedition and privy conspiracy."

Now were added also the two Ember Prayers, the Prayer for the Parliament, the Prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, the General Thanksgiving, and the Thanksgiving for restoring public peace at home.

In the Communion Office some very significant additions were made. A rubric was added before the Prayer for the Church Militant, directing the priest to place the elements upon the holy table. This was to be done after the alms had already, in accordance with a previous rubric, been placed upon it; and a corresponding clause, "and oblations," added after the word "alms," thus included the elements with the alms in the prayer for their acceptance. The books of 1552 and 1559 had only, "accept our alms." The bishops here followed the book prepared for the Church of Scotland in 1637, and by making the prayer "accept our alms

Significant  
additions to  
Communion  
Office.

and oblations," they no doubt intended to restore distinct expression of the "First Oblation" or "Lesser Oblation" of primitive times, where not only the elements but other gifts also were offered formally before the act of consecration, and before the Eucharistic Offering properly so called.<sup>1</sup> In this connection we may notice that the priest is now directed not to begin the prayer till "after this done." The important clause, "For all Thy servants departed this life," etc., was added at the end of the Prayer for the Church Militant; and the order about kneeling at the reception of the elements (removed by Queen Elizabeth) was restored, with the explanation that no adoration was intended to any *corporal* presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood. The doctrine of the "real and essential" presence was thus implicitly retained, while the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation was repudiated. The Epistles and Gospels were now taken from the Authorized Version of 1611, and the words, "*for* the Epistle," were substituted for "the Epistle" in those cases in which passages from the Old Testament, etc., were read as Epistles.

Two whole offices were added which still retain their place in the Prayer-book, namely, that for the Baptism of Adults, rendered necessary by the neglect of the sacrament of Baptism during the Commonwealth time; and the Form of Prayer to be used by those at Sea.

Two new  
offices.

<sup>1</sup> The Greater Oblation is that which is spoken of in Chapter XIX.

Offices were also inserted for the 30th of January, the anniversary of Charles I.'s execution ; and for the 29th of May, the anniversary of the Restoration. The Office for the Fifth of November, commemorating the deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, received some corrections.

Copies of this book of 1662 were annexed to a printed copy of the Act of Uniformity which ordered its use, and, having been carefully examined by Commissioners appointed for the purpose, were certified by them, and sealed with the Great Seal of the kingdom. These copies are known as the "Sealed Books."

The  
Annexed  
Books.

Every cathedral and collegiate church in the kingdom was ordered to provide one of them before the end of the year ; and copies were delivered to the courts of law (then at Westminster) and to the Tower of London, to be preserved as the standard of worship of the Church of England.

The  
"Sealed  
Books."

Since 1662 the offices of the Church of England have never been remodelled. An attempt was made in the reign of William and Mary to meet objections very similar to those urged in the Savoy Conference, but it fell through for want of sufficient support. In 1859 the Forms of Prayer for November 5, January 30, and May 29 were removed by royal warrant, in consideration of their being undesirable from a political point of view. The "Form of Prayer for the Twentieth

Later  
alterations:

Day of June," the date of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne, has, of course, no authority in the "Sealed Books," and owes its presence in the Prayer-book to two Royal Proclamations, of 1837 and 1859 respectively. In 1871 a revised system of Lessons was introduced; and in 1872 the "Act for the Amendment of the Act of Uniformity" allowed, among other things, the shortening, at discretion, of the prescribed forms for Morning and Evening Prayer, except upon Sunday, Christmas Day, Ash-Wednesday, Good Friday, and Ascension Day. The same Act allows a special form of service (approved by the Ordinary) to be used in church on any special occasion; but provides that such service, with the exception of prayers and anthems, shall be taken exclusively from the Bible and Prayer-book.

When  
shortened  
forms are  
allowed.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE PSALMS AND CANTICLES.

IT will be seen, from an analysis of the forms for Morning and Evening Prayer, that each of them is based upon the Psalter. In the original form of each this is clearer than in the present offices, for the whole introduction, from the Sentences down to the end of the Absolution, is not part of the original office, having been added in 1552; and the five prayers after the Third Collect were added, as we have seen, in 1662. Thus the original Morning and Evening Prayer, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and ending with the Third Collect, consists of little more than the recitation of psalms (some fixed, others varying with the day of the month) in a certain order, interspersed with readings from Scripture, and prayers. The only other element in the daily Mattins and Evensong is the recitation of the Apostles' Creed, so that it is plain that these offices are in the highest degree scriptural. Nor is it hard to see why such importance is given to the Psalms, when we remember how constantly

Psalms the  
real basis of  
Mattins and  
Evensong.

they were used, during His life on earth, by our Lord Himself. He used them always, as we can see from the records of the Gospels, in His own devotions, in His arguments, in His teaching ; and, like many Christian saints who were afterwards to follow in His steps, He died with the words of a psalm upon His lips, " Into Thy hands I commend My spirit " (Ps. xxxi. 5).

The Psalms in the Prayer-book come in the same order as in the Hebrew Version. The English translation of the Prayer-book is not the same as that of the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611), but is an earlier one, taken from the "Great English Bible" (*i.e.* Coverdale's, revised) of 1535. When the Epistles and Gospels, as well as the Lessons, were appointed at the last revision to be printed from the Authorized Version of 1611, the older version of the Psalms was still retained, because it was familiar to people who could not read, and because it was thought more suitable for musical use. The hundred and fifty Psalms are in the Hebrew divided into five books, the principle of division being, apparently, similarity of subject. For example, the second book (Pss. xlii.—lxxii.) seems to consist of national psalms suited for use in the temple. Only one book of the five is now ascribed to David (Pss. i.—xli.), who at least arranged these psalms before his death. The authorship of many of the other psalms, as well as the history of their arrangement,

Prayer-book  
Psalms differ  
from A. V.



is very uncertain, and the dates at which they may have been written vary between the time of Moses (who is said to be the author of the ninetieth psalm) and the period after the return from the captivity in Babylon.

In 1549 the whole of the hundred and fifty Psalms were taken bodily in the order in which they stood, and divided into sixty portions, so as to furnish thirty for Morning Prayer and thirty for Evening Prayer daily throughout the month. And in 1549 special Psalms were appointed only for the four great festivals in the year (Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday). Special psalms for two other festivals (Ash-Wednesday and Good Friday) were added in 1661.

Anomalies  
of this  
arrangement.

This haphazard arrangement naturally produces strange results; *e.g.* we have sometimes five or six, sometimes only one psalm at Mattins or Evensong, and on the 31st day we have to say the same psalms as on the 30th. Again, it is possible to get very inappropriate psalms on the holy days for which special psalms have not been appointed; and other psalms lose their liturgical significance through being wrongly placed, like Ps. cxxxiv., which occurs in our arrangement in the morning, though its reference to the temple priests, "Ye that *by night* stand in the house of the Lord," mark it as one appropriate for the Evening Service.

It ought to be noticed that the Prayer-book

arranges for two *daily* services, in its arrangement both of Psalms and Lessons, so that a person who only joins in public worship once or twice a week loses the whole continuity of both.

The antiphonal chanting of the Psalms, *i.e.* the chanting of alternate verses by different voices or choirs, is at least as old in origin as the temple-worship.<sup>1</sup> So also the custom of singing the doxology, or *Gloria Patri*, after psalms, is derived from the East ; though in the East it did not come until the last of the psalms had been sung. The whole congregation in the first few centuries after Christ could not be expected to read or know the Psalms, so they were intoned by a single voice, and the assembly joined in at the end of each with some such well-known formula.<sup>2</sup> The custom has still a special significance, since by applying to each of these Hebrew psalms, as we do, a formula expressing belief in the Trinity, we turn them into Christian hymns.

Mode of  
chanting the  
Psalms.

Venite and  
Easter  
Anthems.

The service of praise at Morning Prayer begins with the appropriate psalm, *Venite, exultemus Domino*, "O come, let us sing unto the Lord"—an invitatory which from very early times has been used in a similar position to summon the congregation to joyful

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Neh. xii. 24, "And the chief of the Levites . . . with their brethren over against them . . . ward over against ward." Cf. also Exod. xv. 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, p. 6.

worship. Its tone of gladness and devotion renders it fit for use on every day of the year, and it is omitted only on Easter Day. On that festival special anthems are appointed (printed just before the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for Easter Day). They are passages of Scripture, taken from St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians and Romans, which have special reference to our Lord's resurrection. The rubric of 1552 directed the use of the second and third of these anthems, instead of the *Venite*, and the first of the three was added at the last revision.

As time went on, hymns originated in the Christian Church itself, some of which have found their way into its regular services, and <sup>The</sup> *Te Deum*. now hold a place of honour equal to that of the Hebrew Psalms. The *Te Deum* is one of these hymns, different both in its nature and origin from most of the other hymns which have become incorporated into our offices, and which, like the *Benedictus* (the Song of Zacharias), the *Magnificat* (the Song of the Virgin Mary), the *Nunc dimittis* (the Song of Simeon), the *Gloria in Excelsis* (the song of the angels at Christ's birth), come mostly from the New Testament. The name of this "psalm," as it is called in the ancient English offices, is derived from its opening words, *Te Deum laudamus, Te Deum confitemur*. Its authorship is uncertain. Old versions of the eighth and ninth centuries have titles ascribing it

respectively to Hilary, Bishop of Arles,<sup>1</sup> or jointly to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine of Hippo.<sup>2</sup> The legend with regard to the latter is that the two saints composed it on the occasion of the baptism of St. Augustine by St. Ambrose, each contributing alternate verses. However, nothing certain can be said about the authorship of the *Te Deum*, except that, for the following reasons, it seems to belong to the early part of the fifth century, and to have originated in the south of Gaul.

The Latin version shows clear coincidences with St. Jerome's Gallican Version of the Psalms, of which the date is A.D. 388 ; and, again, *Te Deum laudamus* is actually ordered to be said as part of the Sunday Mattins by Cæsarius of Arles, in 502.<sup>3</sup> These facts seem to put the date between A.D. 388 and 502.

Gallican in  
origin.

Date between  
A.D. 388  
and 502.

But the hymn must have been in existence some time before it acquired sufficient importance to be ordered in this way for regular use, so that the probable date would seem to be some year between A.D. 388 and 450. As an alternative to the *Te Deum*, the *Benedicite* is appointed by the Prayer-book, though the present rubric does not say when the latter is to be substituted.

<sup>1</sup> Munich, Daniel's M.I. of the eighth or ninth century.

<sup>2</sup> Vienna, Psalter No. 1861, ninth century.

<sup>3</sup> *Regula ad Monachos*, xxi. From a letter written about A.D. 525 by Bishop Cyprian of Toulon to Bishop Maximus of Geneva, the *Te Deum* seems to have been used *daily* in his time. This letter is preserved in the Cathedral Library at Cologne (Cod. 212).

The rubric of 1549 was more explicit, ordering the *Benedicite* to be used during Lent instead of the *Te Deum*, the tone of which was considered to be too jubilant for that season.

The *Benedicite*, the alternative to the *Te Deum*, of which the opening words in the Latin Version are

*Benedicite.* *Benedicite omnia opera Domini*, was part of the old Office of Lauds. It was used

as a hymn in the later Jewish Church, having its origin in the Septuagint or Greek Version of the Book of Daniel. It is known also by the name *Canticum Trium Puerorum*, or Song of the Three Children, and is so called because it was supposed to have been sung by Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego while in Nebuchadnezzar's burning fiery furnace. The three names in the last verse, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, are the Hebrew names for the three youths, which were changed to Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, in accordance with the Babylonian manner of dealing with captives.<sup>1</sup> The song is not in the Hebrew Version of the Book of Daniel. It may be noticed that the *Gloria Patri* is printed after the Jewish *Benedicite*, but not after the *Te Deum*, which is in itself an essentially Christian hymn.

After the New Testament Lesson at Morning Prayer comes appropriately a New Testament canticle, the *Benedictus*, spoken by Zacharias<sup>2</sup> after the birth of his son, John the Baptist—the child

<sup>1</sup> See Dan. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Luke i. 68.

who was to be called the Prophet of the Highest, and who was to prepare His ways. It comes in here as an acknowledgment that the Messiah promised in the Old Testament has really come, and as a thanksgiving for the performance of God's promises. "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel ; for He hath visited and redeemed His people."

*Benedictus.*

As the *Benedictus*, or Song of Zacharias, comes in the ordinary course of Scripture reading in the Second Lesson on the 25th of March (the Festival of the Annunciation), and in the Gospel for the 24th of June (St. John Baptist's Day), the revisers of 1552 thought well to provide an alternative. This is the *Jubilate Deo*, the hundredth psalm, the use of which, however, is not restricted by the rubric to these two occasions.

*Jubilate.*

In the Evening Prayer, the canticle following the Old Testament Lesson is the *Magnificat*, or Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary, so called from its opening words, *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*. This song has been used at Vespers in the Western Church as far back as the office can be traced. Its significance in this place is to acknowledge, in the words with which the mother of the Lord greeted the announcement of her coming honour, the fulfilment of the Old Testament covenant which has just been read: "He remembering His mercy *hath* holpen His

*Magnificat.*



servant Israel, as He *promised* to our forefathers, Abraham, and his seed for ever." <sup>1</sup>

An alternative to the *Magnificat* was appointed in 1552 (apparently only with a view to variety),

Cantate Domino. in the *Cantate Domino*, the ninety-eighth psalm, which, however, is not to be read on the nineteenth evening, because it then occurs in the ordinary course of the Psalms. There is no ancient precedent for its use in this place; it was not sung in the old offices at either Vespers or Compline.

After the New Testament Lesson at Evening Prayer comes the *Nunc dimittis*, the song sung by

Nunc dimittis. the aged Simeon after being presented with the infant Christ in the temple,<sup>2</sup> in which he prayed to be allowed to depart in peace now that he had seen the Messiah, the promised Salvation of his own people Israel, and the Light to lighten the rest of the nations of the world. From the earliest ages this song has been sung at evening-time before sleep, which is the type of death.

The alternative to the *Nunc dimittis* was provided in 1552. The *Deus Misereatur*, or Ps. lxxvii.,

Deus misereatur. is allowed, by the rubric of 1552, in place of the *Nunc dimittis*, except on the twelfth evening of the month, when it comes in the ordinary course of the Psalms.

As to the Versicles (*versiculi* = little verses),

<sup>1</sup> Luke i. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Luke ii. 29.



those at the beginning of the old Mattins, after the Lord's Prayer, "O Lord, open Thou our lips," etc., with their responses, come from the <sup>The Versicles.</sup> Psalms (Pss. li. 15 and lxx. 1 respectively).

The six versicles before the collect of the day come also, ultimately, from the Psalms (Pss. lxxxv. 7; xx. 9; cxxxii. 9; xxviii. 9; [not the fifth]; li. 10, 11). The fifth, "Give peace in our time, O Lord," was an antiphon to the ancient Collect for Peace, which is now the second collect at Morning Prayer. Nor is it altogether fanciful to consider all six of the versicles in the light of this instance; for each of them corresponds in some such way with one or other of the prayers which follow them. The first, "O Lord, show Thy mercy upon us," with the collect of the day, for mercy and salvation; the second, "O Lord, save the Queen," with the Collects for the Queen and Royal Family; the third and fourth, "Endue Thy Ministers with righteousness," "O Lord, save Thy people," with that for Clergy and People; the fifth, "Give peace in our time, O Lord," with the Collect for Peace; and the sixth, "O Lord, make clean our hearts within us," with the Collect for Grace.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE COLLECTS AND OTHER PRAYERS.

THE term "collect" is properly applied only to that prayer for the day which precedes the Epistle in the celebration of the Eucharist ; but in our Prayer-book the word is used in a much wider sense than this, being applied, *e.g.*, to prayers which come in the ordinary Mattins and Evensong, and even to such prayers as that "for all sorts and conditions of men." The name is derived from the Church-Latin word *collecta*, which meant the assembly of worshippers gathered together to hear Mass. Hence in the old Sacramentaries we have the expression, *oratio ad collectam*, meaning "the prayer at the assembly" —a prayer offered at a particular church just before the congregation moved in procession to the so-called "station-church," at which the Mass was really to be celebrated. This expression is soon shortened to *ad collectam*, still meaning the prayer at the assembly ; and so, by a very natural transition, the first prayer of the Mass, preceding the Epistle, came to be called the *collecta*, or "collect."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An old derivation of the word refers it to *collectio*, because the

The collects of the Prayer-book, together with the Epistles and Gospels,<sup>1</sup> follow, in the main, the arrangement of the Sarum Missal, though the collects themselves have undergone changes of many kinds. Some of the old ones have been left out and new ones substituted; others that have been retained have been altered, either in their contents or in their expression, at the various periods when our offices have been revised.

Besides being properly a Eucharistic prayer, a collect seems to possess the further characteristics of being very short; and (1) of being addressed to God the Father, certain of whose attributes it mentions as a reason for our addressing Him; (2) of conveying only one petition, though it may be in several clauses; (3) of pleading the merits of Jesus Christ, through whom alone the petition can be made. The Collect for Sexagesima Sunday may be taken as an instance.

Character-  
istics of a  
collect.

(1) "O Lord God, who seest that we put not our trust in anything that we do;

(2) "Mercifully grant that by Thy power we may be defended from all adversity;

(3) "Through Jesus Christ our Lord."

priest, on behalf of the assembly, collected their prayers into one. This meaning is certainly not absent from its later uses. But the evolution of the word is plain from the Sacramentaries.

<sup>1</sup> The selection of Epistles and Gospels is substantially the same as that in the oldest Lectionaries of the Roman Church, and is attributed to St. Jerome, during the latter half of the fourth century.

Some, like the Ascension and Whitsuntide Collects, end with an ascription of praise to the Trinity, "through our Saviour Christ, who liveth and reigneth, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end." Only three of our collects are addressed to God the Son (those for the Third Sunday in Advent, St. Stephen's Day, and the First Sunday in Lent), thus failing in the third of the five characteristics mentioned. These three exceptions prove the rule, for they are of modern composition. The old collects, being intended for use in the Eucharistic Service, where the sacrifice of the Son is pleaded to the Father, invariably address the First Person of the Holy Trinity.

Most of the Prayer-book collects are of very high antiquity. Five entire collects come from the Sacramentary of Leo the Great, who Sources from which our collects come. was Bishop of Rome from 440 to 461, and whose Sacramentary was certainly in use before the end of the fifth century. The originals of others are to be found in the later Sacramentaries of Gelasius (A.D. 494) and of Gregory the Great (A.D. 590). All these, forty-seven in number, were in the Sarum Missal, and were adopted with more or less alteration by the translators of 1549. Others owe their entire composition to 1549, especially most of the Saints' Day collects, which were entirely remodelled because the earlier ones generally asked for the intercession of the particular saints, or, at least, referred to their

merits. Only two new ones were composed at the revision of 1661. The Latin originals exhibit the pregnant brevity and antithetical force so congenial to the language in which they are written, and so difficult of similar expression in English. Yet some of them are rendered almost word for word. On the other hand, most of the translations of 1549 show that the claims of clearness and melody of language were not unrecognized, even though they led to rearrangement and expansion of the original. The collects which were freshly composed for the First Prayer-book—among them the beautiful collects for the First Sunday in Advent, for All Saints' Day, and for Christmas Day—that “masterpiece of the great workmen of 1549,” as it has been called by Dr. Bright, are standing monuments of the capacity of the Reformers for their work. Nowhere in the Prayer-book is the soberness and dignity of the English Liturgy, its combined beauty and theological soundness, so well exemplified as in the collects.

For reference, the collects are arranged in the following list, according to their origin:—

(1) From the Sacramentary of Leo: Third Sunday after Easter; Fifth, Ninth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth Sundays after Trinity.

(2) From the Gelasian Sacramentary: Fourth Sunday in Advent; Innocents' Day; Palm Sunday; the second of the three Collects for Good Friday; Fourth and Fifth Sundays after Easter; First,

Second, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Eleventh, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first Sundays after Trinity.

(3) From the Gregorian Sacramentary: St. Stephen; St. John the Evangelist; the Epiphany; First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth Sundays after the Epiphany; Septuagesima; Sexagesima; Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth Sundays in Lent; the first of the Good Friday Collects; Ascension Day; Whit Sunday, and Trinity Sunday<sup>1</sup>; Third, Fourth, Seventeenth, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth Sundays after Trinity; Purification; Annunciation; St. Michael. (Tenth and Twelfth Sundays after Trinity, and Easter Day, have elements derived from one or other of the two earlier Sacramentaries.)

(4) Composed in 1549: First and Second Sundays in Advent; Christmas Day; Circumcision; Quinquagesima; Ash Wednesday; First Sunday in Lent; the third Good Friday Collect; First and Second Sundays after Easter; St. Thomas; SS. Philip and James (altered later); St. Matthias; St. Mark; St. Barnabas; St. John Baptist; St. Peter; St. James; St. Matthew; St. Luke; SS. Simon and Jude; All Saints; St. Bartholomew; St. Paul.

(5) Composed in 1552: St. Andrew.

(6) Composed in 1661: Third Sunday in Advent; Sixth Sunday after Epiphany.

<sup>1</sup> For Trinity Sunday as a separate festival, see some observations on the English Calendar in Chapter XVIII., p. 153.



There are one or two special rubrics directing the use of certain collects, which must not be overlooked. The Collect for the First Sunday in Advent is to be read in the other Special rubrics. weeks of Advent also, *after* the proper collect for the day. In the same way, the Ash-Wednesday Collect is to be said every day throughout Lent, after the proper collect for the day. The Collect (with the Epistle and Gospel) appointed for the Circumcision is to be read every day after until the Epiphany. And in years in which there are *more* than twenty-five Sundays after Trinity, the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel appointed for the Twenty-fifth Sunday is to be reserved, and read always on the last Sunday before Advent, the intermediate days being supplied by the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for Sundays after the Epiphany, which in this case will not have been needed earlier in the year.

It remains to consider various other prayers, some of them real collects, at least in origin, others with a different history.

To the former class belong the two collects which, in Morning and Evening Prayer, follow the collect of the day, and which are, therefore, called the Second and Third Collects. The "Second Collect, for Peace," Fixed collects at Mattins. in the Morning Prayer, came from the Sacramentary of Gelasius into the Breviary, and thence into the Mattins of 1549. The "Third Collect, for Grace,"



has a similar origin, and passed first into the Breviary Office of Prime, and thence to its present position.

The Second and Third Collects of Evening Prayer are both translations of prayers from the

Fixed  
collects at  
Evensong.

Sarum Breviary, which are first found in the Sacramentary of Gelasius. All of these four collects, like so many others which have their origin in the old Sacramentaries, bear signs of the troubled life of the fifth century, in the constant prayer they offer for peace and for aid against all perils.

As we have seen above, the Mattins and Evensong of 1549 ended with the Third Collect. In 1661 the following five prayers, which had previously been printed at the end of the Litany, were brought to their present position.

(1) The original of the "Prayer for the Queen's Majesty," or, as it was then, the "Prayer for the King's Majesty," is found in a Book of Prayers printed towards the end of Henry VIII.'s reign. It was not, however, in either of Edward VI.'s Prayer-books, but first appeared, much curtailed and altered, in the Book of Common Prayer in Elizabeth's reign (1559).

The Five  
Prayers.

(2) The "Prayer for the Royal Family" is attributed to Archbishop Whitgift (1604), whose original composition, mentioning the actual names of the prince and princess, has been altered to general terms.

(3) The "Prayer for the Clergy and People" comes from the Sacramentary of Gelasius, through the Sarum Breviary.

(4) The "Prayer of St. Chrysostom" was not in the Sarum Breviary. It was placed by Cranmer, in 1544, at the end of the Litany, and thence was moved, with the other prayers, to its present position. Cranmer took it from the Liturgy of Constantinople, in which it bears St. Chrysostom's name. Yet it cannot certainly be attributed to St. Chrysostom; it occurs also in the Liturgy of St. Basil, and its authorship might with equal probability be assigned to the latter.

(5) The "Grace" is the same as St. Paul's benediction to the Church at Corinth (2 Cor. xiii. 14). The mention of the Trinity recalls the triple benediction of Old Testament times (Numb. vi. 24-26), the counterpart of which is found in every ancient Liturgy.

There are other prayers, directed by the rubric to be said "before the two final prayers of the Litany, or of Morning and Evening Prayer," which since they are to be used on particular occasions, are known as the "Occasional Prayers." There are also Thanksgivings corresponding to some of these prayers.

The  
Occasional  
Prayers.

Of the Occasional Prayers, those "for Rain" and "for Fair Weather," and that "to be read in the time of War and Tumults," are derived, in

idea at least, though not in expression, from the Sacramentary of Gregory, through the Sarum Missal. They are in the book of 1549, at the end of the Communion Office. The "Prayer that may be said after any of the former" is of similar origin. The two alternatives "In time of Dearth and Famine" were composed and inserted in 1552; as was also the prayer "in time of any Common Plague or Sickness." The two prayers for the

Ember  
Prayers.

Ember<sup>1</sup> weeks have no ancient precedent, and are peculiar to the English ritual. They were both inserted in 1661. The first may have been composed by Cosin, Bishop of Durham, as it occurs in his book of private devotions; the second occurs in the Prayer-book of 1537, which was prepared by the Scottish bishops for the Church of Scotland, and may possibly have been Archbishop Laud's composition. The Prayer for the High Court of Parliament of Parliament is also attributed to Laud. It appears first in an "Order of Fasting" of 1625, and was inserted in its present place in 1661.

For all  
conditions of  
men.

The prayer "for all conditions of men" was probably composed by Bishop Gunning, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is said that the original draft was much longer, containing petitions for the king, the royal family, and the clergy, and

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XVIII., p. 155, for the meaning of the word "Ember."

that the word "finally" is out of place in its present shortened form.<sup>1</sup> This prayer also was inserted in 1661.

Of the Thanksgivings, the General Thanksgiving, as it is called, in order to distinguish it from the Thanksgivings which are for particular blessings, is the composition The Thanksgivings. of Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, and was added in 1661. The other Thanksgivings—for Rain, Fair Weather, etc.—have no ancient counterpart. They were added after the Hampton Court Conference, in 1604, at the request of the Puritans,—all except that "for restoring Public Peace at home," which has reference to the times of the restoration of the monarchy, and was inserted in 1661.

<sup>1</sup> Procter, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 282.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE CREEDS.

ANOTHER element which appears in many of the English offices is the recitation of the heads of Christian belief, which are gathered together in the forms called Creeds (*credo*, "I believe"). The Church of England recognizes three Creeds, or rather, three forms of the same Creed, for the two longer ones, the Nicene and the so-called Athanasian Creed, are for the most part only expansions of that known as the Apostles' Creed. One or other of these forms occurs in the daily Mattins and Evensong, in the Communion Office, and in the Offices for Baptism and for the Visitation of the Sick. These are elements which the Jewish synagogue offices did not contain, and which did not appear in Christian offices (except those for Baptism) till the fifth century. We must inquire briefly into their origin.

It appears plain that the origin of the Christian Creeds lay in the profession of faith required of every convert before he was baptized. Before he

could be baptized into the Christian faith, he must at least know something about Jesus Christ, and be able to say that he believed in Him, and in the most important facts connected with His redemption of the world.

Origin in the  
Baptismal  
profession.

Hence many old Creeds occur in the interrogative form in which the Apostles' Creed occurs in our own Baptismal Service: "Dost thou believe in God the Father?" and so on. Many, too, begin, "We are baptized into," instead of "I believe in." The custom of turning to the east during the recitation of the Creed is, perhaps, a reminiscence of this ancient use. The candidate for Baptism turned to the west, and renounced the devil and powers of evil; then to the east, from whence Christ should come, as he recited his declaration of faith in Him. It is thought that in such passages of the New Testament as 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4—where St. Paul says to the Corinthians, "I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures"—we have traces of actual forms of belief, *i.e.* Creeds, which were used for the instruction of catechumens, or candidates for Baptism.

The earliest Creeds were very short. That of the Ethiopian eunuch, whom St. Philip found reading the Prophet Isaiah, was simply, "I believe

that Jesus Christ is the Son of God ;"<sup>1</sup> and, satisfied with this, St. Philip immediately baptized him. But even this simple clause involves the knowledge of much more than it expresses, and would be unintelligible, without further explanation, in most countries of the Gentile world. For who was this Jesus Christ who was said to be the Son of God? And what were the attributes of this God whom Christians called the Father of Jesus Christ? All this had to be expressed clearly as time went on, and as fresh converts were gathered in. So other additions were made as the subtle minds of the East found one difficulty after another as they dwelt upon the mysteries of the Creation of the world, of the Incarnation, of the work of the Holy Spirit, and upon the other heads of the Christian belief. And thus, under the combined influences of the necessity for clear teaching and for guarding against heresy, the earliest Creeds added clause to clause, until in some cases they became quite lengthy documents. The detailed array of explanations and defences which we find in the Athanasian Confession is due to no other cause.

Earliest form  
had to be  
expanded.

#### THE APOSTLES' CREED.

The Apostles' Creed comes into our Mattins and Evensong through the Mediæval Office of Prime.

<sup>1</sup> Acts viii. 37 (Authorized Version).



We know that the Synod of Aquis-Grani (Aix-la-Chapelle), in 816, ordered its use in that office, and it was so used in the Anglo-Saxon Church.<sup>1</sup> It most probably owes its name to the belief that it was drawn up

Conveys the teaching of the Apostles.

by the Apostles themselves; and there is a well-known legend of the eighth century, given by Pirminius,<sup>2</sup> telling how the Twelve Apostles, sitting together at Pentecost, were filled with the Holy Spirit, and under His influence composed this Creed. The first clause of the Creed in this legend is ascribed to St. Peter, the second to St. John, and so on through all the clauses, which together make the full Creed as we know it. But, leaving such an account out of the question, there must have been forms in existence, containing at least the substance of the Apostles' Creed, as early as the second century, and that even in the West of Europe. "We may regard it as an assured result of research," says Professor Harnack,<sup>3</sup> "that the old Roman Creed came into existence about or shortly before the middle of the second century."

Second and third centuries.

St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in Gaul (A.D. 170), and Tertullian of Carthage (A.D. 200), both have forms declaring belief in most of the

<sup>1</sup> Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, I. i. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Libellus Pirminii*, published by Mabillon. Pirminius died about A.D. 758. Cf. Rufinus, *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Adolf Harnack, in his treatise (1892), *Das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss*.

articles which are mentioned by the present Creed, though doing so in words which differ both from it and from each other. The articles which most of these second-century Creeds do not mention are—

- (1) The Conception by the Holy Ghost.
- (2) The Descent into Hell.
- (3) The Holy Catholic Church.
- (4) The Communion of Saints.
- (5) The Forgiveness of Sins.

In the third century, however (A.D. 250), we find two of these five clauses, (3) and (5), brought together in St. Cyprian's account of the Christian belief; thus, the Forgiveness of Sins and Eternal Life *through* the Holy Church.<sup>1</sup> The old Roman Creed of the second century also mentions the Holy Church (not "Catholic") and the Remission of Sins.

In the fourth century, in the Creed of Aquileia in Italy, which is given to us by Rufinus, we get clause (2), the Descent into Hell. And in the sixth century (A.D. 550), in a Creed preserved by Eusebius Gallus,<sup>2</sup> we find the other two clauses, (1) and (4), "was conceived" and "Communion of Saints," completing the Creed.

<sup>1</sup> St. Cyprian, Ep. 76, *Ad Magnum*.

<sup>2</sup> See a sermon of Eusebius Gallus, in Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 59, where, besides the two clauses mentioned above, we have for the first time the word "dead" before "buried;" and "sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty" instead of simply "at the right hand of the Father."

The addition of the word "Catholic" to the clause about the Holy Church seems to have been made in the Creed of Aquileia, since we find the whole expression there in the time of Nicetas, who was Bishop of Aquileia in A.D. 450.

The Creeds above mentioned differ greatly in verbal expression; but the later ones seem all to tend gradually towards that form of Pirminius mentioned above, which became the settled form in the Service-books of Western Europe, and which, translated, is our Apostles' Creed. Its final shape is thus as late as the eighth century, but it will be seen that such additions as were made after the second century neither affect the main scope of the Creed, nor can be considered as departures from primitive belief.<sup>1</sup> The exact expression of a Creed was often a matter of local convenience, and it does not follow, because in some cases the less important facts were omitted, that they were not believed.

#### THE NICENE CREED.

The history of the Nicene Creed exemplifies fully the statement made above, that the original Creed of Baptism owed, in a great degree, its expansion to the necessity for refuting heresy. The East was prolific in

The Nicene  
Creed.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Harnack's recent objections on this point seem to be adequately answered by Dr. Swete, in his able reply, *The Apostles' Creed: its Relation to Primitive Christianity* (1894).

heresy during the first few centuries of the Christian era. It was in the year A.D. 325 that Constantine, the Emperor of the Roman world, called the Council of bishops and presbyters at Nicæa, in Asia Minor, to remedy the heretical teaching of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, who had denied the eternal Divinity of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. The statement of Arius himself upon this point was that the Son of God was produced from things non-existent ; there was a time when He was not ; He was a creature, and a thing produced. No fewer than three hundred and eighteen bishops were present at this Council. Eusebius, who was Bishop of Cæsarea at the time, was one of its members, and he has handed down to us some account of the decisions which were arrived at. He himself, apparently, laid a Confession of Faith before the Council, in which the Godhead of Jesus Christ is declared in emphatic terms similar to those which ultimately were adopted by the Council, and which are set forth by the present Nicene Creed.

Influence of  
the Arian  
heresy on  
this Creed.

The Creed put forth by the Fathers at Nicæa was not exactly like that which we call the Nicene Creed. But the clauses which relate to Jesus Christ are expressed in almost identical terms : "The Only Begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father ; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God [*i.e.* God from God,

*Deum de Deo*, etc., Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ] ; begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things on earth ; Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate, made man, suffered, and rose the third day, ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead."

The eternal Divinity of Jesus Christ is here expressed over and over again in the most explicit terms ; twice in this Confession He is declared to be of the *same* substance (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father, and therefore, like Him, uncreated. Since this point only was in question, the Nicene Symbol, as given by the historians, does not amplify the last clause, which relates to the Third Person of the Trinity, but ends simply, " And we believe in the Holy Ghost."

About fifty years after the Council of Nicæa arose other heresy, to which the express additions to this last clause are probably due.

Macedonius, who had been Bishop of Constantinople, began to teach that the Holy Ghost was not truly God. Hence we find, in the Creeds of that time, clauses added to the simple statement of belief in the Holy Ghost ; namely, that He is the Lord, and the Life-giver, proceeding from the Father, worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son, and that He spoke by means of the prophets.

Heresy of  
Macedonius,  
A.D. 375.

These clauses are all in a Creed given by Epiphanius,<sup>1</sup> who writes, according to his own statement, in the year A.D. 373.

It was not until A.D. 381 that the Council of Constantinople was summoned to combat the heresy of Macedonius, so that it cannot be correct to say that the clauses expressing the Divinity of the Holy Ghost were added by this Council. The Nicene Creed, with these additions, can only be called "Constantinopolitan" in the sense that the opinion of the Council of Constantinople is expressed by it; and that it was probably used throughout the patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> It was at the Council

Council of  
Constanti-  
nople, A.D.  
381.

of Chalcedon (the Fourth General Council), in A.D. 451, that the Creed of Nicæa, with these Constantinopolitan additions, was accepted as the Creed of the Universal Church. This Council also amplified one or two of the earlier clauses. The words of the present Creed which were added by the Council of Chalcedon were, "of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary," "He sitteth at the right hand of the Father," and "Whose kingdom shall have no end." The clause appearing in the Creed given

Council of  
Chalcedon,  
A.D. 451.

<sup>1</sup> Epiphanius, *Ancorate*, cc. 120, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the fact of the additional clauses being found at least seven years before A.D. 381, none of the early historians mentions a Constantinopolitan Symbol. The Creed is wanting even in some records of the seventh canon of the Council, and this canon is the only evidence we have that the Council put forth a Creed at all.



by Epiphanius, "Lord, and Giver of Life," was also added to the article on the Holy Ghost. Even now this developed Nicene Creed did not contain one clause which stands in our own—the famous words *et Filio*, declaring that the Holy Ghost proceeds "from the Father <sup>The</sup> *and from the Son.*" <sup>"Filioque"</sup> <sup>clause.</sup> This addition first

appears in the Churches of the West of Europe, and particularly in the Creed of the Third Council of Toledo in Spain (A.D. 569), where it was probably used as an additional safeguard against Arianism. All the Latin Churches seem to have adopted it more or less unconsciously, but the Greek Churches in the East looked upon it from the first as unwarrantable. By the eighth century it had become a reproach between East and West, and the breach between the two grew gradually wider until it led to the great schism which has separated Eastern from Western Christendom.

The Nicene Creed comes into our Communion Service through the Sarum Missal. The influence of the Third Council of Toledo (above mentioned), which had adopted the Creed, led to its becoming the Creed of the Mass in Spain. From Spain it passed first into the Gallican, and then into the Roman Mass.

#### THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

The third form of Creed which finds a place in



the English offices is that which bears the name of St. Athanasius. In the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., and up to the revision of <sup>Athanasian Creed.</sup> 1661, it was called simply the *Quicunque vult*, the words, "commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius," being added in the latter year. If, however, there is one thing certain about this document, it is that St. Athanasius did not write it. St. Athanasius was one of the bishops present at the Council of Nicæa, in A.D. 325, and it is very likely that, like Eusebius of Cæsarea, he had prepared a Confession of Faith of his own, in which the orthodox views about the Holy Trinity were clearly put. But in this case his Confession would have been in Greek, and not in Latin; and though there are early Greek versions of the first part of the *Quicunque*, yet a close examination shows, beyond reasonable doubt, that they are translations from the Latin, not that the Latin versions are translations from the Greek. Further, it seems quite clear, from the most recent research, that this Confession consists of two different portions, each of which had a separate origin. The <sup>The first part about the Trinity.</sup> first twenty-eight verses (following the Prayer-book arrangement) form a declaration of faith in the Holy Trinity, most of which is found, without the later verses, in various manuscripts which cannot be later than the eighth century. We must consider these twenty-eight verses separately from the rest. Their substance,

at any rate, if not their actual expression, may be much earlier than that century, and, as they really express the views for which St. Athanasius contended, it is not remarkable that they came to be called Athanasian. Taking into account the fact that they certainly had their origin in the Gallican Church, it is not hard to believe, with <sup>Gallican in origin.</sup> Professor Harnack,<sup>1</sup> that they were there used as a Confession of Faith to combat the Arian Wisigoths of Spain, just as the Nicæan or Constantinopolitan Creed served to combat Eastern Arianism. The origin of the treatise was probably very similar, both in time and place, to that of the *Te Deum*, which is in reality just as much a Confession of Faith, or Creed, as it is a Psalm; while the Athanasian Creed, conversely, is just as much a Psalm as a Creed, and is, in fact, called a Psalm in many ancient documents. Like the *Te Deum*, too, its authorship is quite uncertain; and both have been ascribed by eminent authorities to Hilary, Bishop of Arles, who died in A.D. 449.

As the first part of our Athanasian Creed must be considered as having been originally a separate treatise upon the doctrine of the Trinity, so there is reason for thinking that the <sup>The second part on the Incarnation.</sup> latter half was a separate treatise upon the Incarnation of our Lord. In the famous Trèves Manuscript, the date of which is possibly about the end of the seventh century, the latter

<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, ii. 298, sq.

half of the *Quicunque* (beginning with our twenty-ninth verse) appears without the former, and this with no indication that anything has been omitted. Of its authorship we have no indication whatever, but the clauses in which it guards against various heresies point to a date later than the fourth century.

The combination of both treatises is not found until the ninth century, when they occur nearly in their present form as one Confession, in a Prayer-book of Charles the Bald.

Hayton, Bishop of Basle (died A.D. 836), ordered the *Quicunque* to be learnt by heart by his clergy, and recited every Sunday at Prime<sup>1</sup>—a fact which shows that by the beginning of the ninth century its authority was well established. Two centuries later it had acquired a place of honour equal to that of the *Te Deum*, and was recited in most churches every day at Prime—a position it held in the old English offices. In 1549, however, the Apostles' Creed was appointed for daily Mattins, and the Athanasian Creed was reserved for the six most important festivals in the year. The book of 1552 added the other seven holy days to the rubric directing its use, so that we have it now practically about once a month.

To a mind unacquainted with its history, the Athanasian Confession appears to bristle with an

Later history  
of Athanasian  
Creed.

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patrologiæ Latinæ Cursus*, cxv. p. 11.

almost aggressive array of dogma. But there is not one word in this Creed which has not done duty at some time in the history of the Church in defending her faith against actual error. Patripassians and Sabellians have "confounded the Persons," by maintaining that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit were not three Persons, but one Person; Arians have "divided the substance" of the Godhead, by making that of the Son differ from that of the Father. As Arians and Ebionites have said that Christ was not perfect God, so Gnostics and Apollinarians and Eutychians have denied that He was perfect Man. As Nestorius taught that in Christ there were two *Persons*, the Son of God and the Son of Man, so Eutyches taught that He had not two *natures*, the human and the Divine. Even the twenty-third verse, "So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts"—apparently so unnecessary to the unimaginative Western mind—was framed to meet a heresy which taught that there were three unoriginated principles, and therefore three Fathers, and three Sons, and three Holy Ghosts.<sup>1</sup>

Heresies  
combated by  
the Creed.

Nor can we think that the days of these heresies are yet over, or that this Creed, having done its

<sup>1</sup> Note that the word "incomprehensible" in the phrase, "the Father incomprehensible," is in the original, *immensus*, ἀπειρος, i.e. "unbounded," "immeasurable."

work, may be dispensed with. In many fresh forms such difficulties have recurred, and may do so again, in the conflict of Christianity with the other religions of the world, so that, as a plain statement of what is *not* true with regard to the Christian faith, it is invaluable still.

With regard to the so-called damnatory clauses, they express no more, when properly understood,

The  
damnatory  
clauses.

than the texts of Scripture upon which they are founded (*e.g.* Mark xvi. 16, "He that disbelieveth shall be condemned" <sup>1</sup>). In the light of this and other verses of the New Testament they are better understood as "monitory" clauses, or clauses of warning, than damnatory clauses. Speaking generally, it would seem that if a special revelation of religious truth, about sin and the necessity for its atonement, has been given to men, it cannot be a light matter whether it be rejected or not. The last clauses of the Athanasian Creed cannot refer to any but a wilful rejection of the faith of Jesus Christ. And the Church, in still using the Creed, does not presume to judge: it simply warns. But if these clauses of the Creed are to be rejected, one must explain away many texts of the New Testament and ignore the whole spirit of the Old.

<sup>1</sup> Revised Version.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE CALENDAR AND LESSONS—EMBER DAYS— ROGATION DAYS AND LITANY.

#### THE CALENDAR.

THE Prayer-book Calendar comprises two things : (1) the order of the months and days in the year ; and (2) a list of the saints commemorated in the English Church. The former (1), of course, like the order of any other calendar, depends ultimately upon astronomical considerations, and Easter is the point from which the rest of the ecclesiastical year is reckoned. The so-called movable feasts are those which depend upon Easter Day, and which occur earlier or later, according to the date on which Easter falls. Such are Septuagesima Sunday, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, etc. The latter (2) owes its present state mainly to a revision made in Elizabeth's reign, in the year 1561. The saints' days are immovable feasts, because they, like Christmas Day, which falls always on the 25th of December, are fixed to certain days in certain months. Altogether there are seventy-one saints now mentioned in the English Calendar.

Of these, the most important were recognized in the Prayer-books of 1549 and 1552, and their

Red-letter  
days.

festivals are observed still by the use of special Collects, Epistles, and Gospels.

In 1561, though the pre-Reformation calendar was consulted, only forty-eight of the minor holy days were restored out of the hundred and fifty-one which were recognized in the reign of Henry VIII.

Black-letter  
days.

Of these forty-eight minor holy days, for which proper Collects, Epistles, and Gospels are not provided, twenty-one commemorate saints like St. George, the patron saint of England; St. Alban, the first English martyr; St. Augustine, the missionary to the English; St. David, the patron saint of Wales; and others connected with our own island. There are some unaccountable omissions, for St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, and even St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert, find no place in our calendar. They were overlooked even in 1661, when the names of the Venerable Bede, St. Alban, and St. Enurchus were added to the list of 1561.

The observance of saints' days probably arises from a very early practice of keeping the anniversary of the day on which a saint died by martyrdom. The night before such anniver-

Vigil. saries used to be spent in watching, and was observed with fasting and prayer.

Hence the term "Vigil" (*vigilare*, "to watch") now applied to the day preceding certain festivals.



A vigil implies a fast, and is not to be confused with the Eve of a festival. Some festivals have no vigils, either because they occur in seasons when fasting would be out of place, as in the case of those falling in the joyous seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; or because they do not commemorate the pain of martyrdom, as is the case with the Festival of St. Michael and All Angels. St. Luke's Day is without a vigil, either because the Evangelist is thought to have died in peace without martyrdom, or because the Festival of St. Etheldreda used to occupy the day before.<sup>1</sup> As every Sunday is a festival commemorating the Lord's resurrection, it is forbidden ever to fast on that day; so, in the case of a holy day falling on Monday, its vigil (if it has one) is kept on the previous Saturday, not on Sunday, its eve.

The beginning of the ecclesiastical year is Advent Sunday, which is always the nearest Sunday to the Feast of St. Andrew (November 30), whether before or after. The greater holy days of the Church of England are mainly the same as those which have always been observed by the Universal Church since their first institution. The observance of the Sunday which occurs in the octave of Pentecost as a separate festival in honour of the Holy Trinity (our Trinity Sunday), seems to have been for a long time peculiar to the English Church. Its universal observance was

<sup>1</sup> Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, p. 118.

not enforced by papal authority till 1334. In many other Churches than our own the following Sundays are still reckoned after Pentecost, not by such-and-such a number after Trinity.

### THE DAILY LESSONS.

The present system of Lessons, *i.e.* lections or readings, at Morning and Evening Prayer, was finally settled in 1871. It consists of two cycles—one from the Old Testament, to be read as First Lessons; the other from the New Testament, to be read as Second Lessons. The original principle of both was provision for a perfectly continuous reading of the books of Holy Scripture, but this is interfered with in both cycles. In the case of the New Testament Lessons the continuity is broken by the appointment of special passages to be read on Septuagesima Sunday, the First Sunday in Lent, Easter Day, First Sunday after Easter, Whit Sunday, and Trinity Sunday, and on all the greater holy days. In the case of the Old Testament Lessons, there is still more displacement, because special passages have been appointed, not only for all the days just mentioned, but for every Sunday in the year.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noticed that the New Testament is read over twice every year, with scarcely any other omissions than those which are caused by the

<sup>1</sup> These are almost identical with the Lessons appointed in Queen Elizabeth's reign (1559).

substitution of special Lessons. It is arranged that when the Gospels are read in the morning, the Epistles are read in the evening, and *vice versa*; so that a person attending only Mattins every day and not Evensong, or Evensong every day and not Mattins, will hear almost the whole of the New Testament in the course of a year. Here, as in the arrangement of the Psalms, daily attendance at service is supposed by the scheme of Prayer-book instruction and worship. By the Act of 1871 power is given to the ordinary<sup>1</sup> to alter the appointed Psalms and Lessons for any other day on all occasions in which he may judge it convenient to do so.

### EMBER DAYS.

The "*Ember Days* at the Four Seasons" come in the Prayer-book list of days of fasting or abstinence, and are observed with special prayer for candidates who are to be ordained to the ministry of the Church. Probably the earliest observance of Ember days had no special reference to Ordination. They seem to have been observed as fasts to consecrate the four seasons of the year, and are called the *Jejunia Quattuor Temporum*, or Fasts of the Four Seasons. Whether the derivation of the word be from this

Origin of  
the term  
"Ember."

<sup>1</sup> Ordinary = *ordinarius*, one who orders; *i.e.* generally the bishop of the diocese. The archbishop is, however, the ordinary of the whole province (Tomlin's *Law Dictionary*).

expression, *quattuor temporum*, becoming first *quatember*, and then simply *ember*; or whether it be from an old Anglo-Saxon word *ymbrine*, meaning a "revolution" of the seasons,—there seems to be no doubt that its significance is connected with recurring periods of the year. Ordinations in early times were held by bishops whenever it might be convenient or necessary. But as early as the fifth century these fasts of the four seasons seem to have become connected with Ordination; for Gelasius, who was Bishop of Rome in A.D. 492, is said to have limited the times of Ordination to the occasions on which they were observed.

It was not till A.D. 1095, at the Council of Placentia, that the actual days were specified which we still observe.

The Ember days are twelve in number, being the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after (1) the First Sunday in Lent; (2) Whit Sunday; (3) September 14, which in the old calendars was Holy Cross Day; (4) December 13, which was St. Lucy's Day. The rubric directs that the Ember Collects<sup>1</sup> shall be read every day during the Ember weeks, *i.e.* during the weeks in which the Ember days occur.

#### ROGATION DAYS AND LITANIES.

Among the fast-days appointed by the English Church are also three days called *Rogation days*,

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XVI.

which are specified as the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday preceding Holy Thursday, or Ascension Day. Rogation and Litany are really equivalent terms, the former coming from the Latin, the latter from the Greek (*rogatio*, *λειτουργία*), but both meaning "supplication;" so that Rogation days are Litany days, or days of supplication. The name is given to the three days before Ascension Day, which are appointed as the special occasions on which to pray for the Divine blessing upon the land and its fruit. At the last revision of the Prayer-book, in 1661, a special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel were proposed for use on the three Rogation days, but they were not adopted. The question was again brought forward in 1689, when the Commission proposed a Collect, which, though not adopted, expresses the object of the Rogation days, in praying: "Almighty God, who hast blessed the earth that it should be fruitful, and bring forth everything that is necessary for the life of man, and hast commanded us to work with quietness, and eat our own bread; bless us in all our labours, and grant us such seasonable weather that we may gather in the fruits of the earth, and ever rejoice in Thy goodness." It is said that these particular days before Ascension Day were first appointed for solemn observance by Mamertus, the Bishop of Vienne, in the South of Gaul (about A.D. 467), who was led to do so in consequence

The Rogation  
days.

Mamertus,  
Bishop of  
Vienne.

of the violent earthquakes and other troubles to which the country round Vienne was subjected at that time.<sup>1</sup> The just anger of Heaven was deprecated by a universal observance of fasting and humiliation. A few years later (A.D. 511) the Council of Orleans prescribed their observance, and since they were the only days in the year set apart for this particular purpose, they became known as *the* Rogation days. From the days of Augustine they seem to have been observed in the English Church. The form of supplication used on the Rogation days was that from which they took their name, the Rogation, or Litany, which was of earlier institution.

The characteristic of the Litany is that it was meant for processional use. In this it differs from all the other offices in the Prayer-book. We hear of solemn processions of clergy and people at Constantinople as early as the fourth century (A.D. 398), where the form of supplication adopted was the singing of hymns. But the principle of the minister bidding the subject of the prayer, and of the people endorsing it by answering, "Lord, have mercy" (Κύριε, ἐλέησον), is as old as the Apostolical Constitutions, and may be as ancient as the second or third century. However, the basis of the Litany, as we know it, seems to be of Western growth. The ordinary occasions which called for its use

The Litany a  
processional  
prayer.

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, ii. 34.



were similar to those which led to its appointment by Mamertus, namely, seasons of distress and humiliation ; and it is not wonderful that, in the perilous times of the fifth and sixth centuries, the Churches of Western Europe found in the Litany an office peculiarly suited to their needs. The old prayer of the

*Its origin  
in times  
of distress.*

Ambrosian Litany at Milan, "Deliver us not into the hands of the heathen," was prompted, doubtless, by the presence of Huns or Vandals at the city gates ; and it reminds us of the later prayer of the Gallican monks against another enemy, "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us."

The three petitions, "Lord, have mercy upon us," "Christ, have mercy upon us," "Lord, have mercy upon us," in which priest and people joined, were known in the time of Augustine as "The Litany," and are now called "The Lesser Litany" to distinguish it from the more developed form.

*The Lesser  
Litany.*

A Litany was instituted in Rome by Gregory the Great (and possibly drawn up by him) shortly before he became Pope. It was at a time when a pestilence was ravaging the city, and when there was great distress besides from a threatened invasion of the Lombards, and from an overflow of the Tiber, which had destroyed the stores of corn. This Litany was generally used in Rome, and in particular on St. Mark's Day, by a great



procession which, starting from seven different points of the city, met at one of the churches.

The Greater  
Litany.

This Litany, called "The Greater Litany," and doubtless brought to England by Augustine, was adopted by the English Church at the Council of Clovesho, and may possibly have been the basis of the Litany of the Use of Sarum, from which our own is derived. Bede<sup>1</sup> says that Augustine and his companions entered Canterbury singing the words of Gregory's Litany.

The Litany, as we have seen, was the first whole public Office which was allowed in English. In Henry VIII.'s Primer it was called the Common Prayer of Procession. In the book of 1549 it was ordered to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays, before the Communion Office.

We may notice in the Litany, as it stands at present, six different kinds of prayer. These are as follows :—

(1) The *Invocations*, like those with which it opens, calling separately upon each Person of the Holy Trinity.

(2) The *Deprecations*—prayers *against* certain evils, the first of which is, "From all evil and mischief, . . . good Lord, deliver us."

(3) The *Obsecrations*—prayers in which we plead *on account of* the merits of our Lord and His sufferings; *e.g.* "By Thine Agony and Bloody

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist.*, i. 25.

Sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion, . . . good Lord, deliver us."

(4) The *Intercessions*, in which we pray *for* certain people—for the Church, the Queen, the Royal Family, the Clergy, the Magistrates, etc.

(5) The *Supplications*—for material blessings, such as the fruits of the earth ; and for spiritual blessings, for true repentance and forgiveness, etc.

(6) The Versicles and Prayers.

In Mediæval Litanies the saints were invoked individually by name, as many as two hundred being sometimes mentioned during a long procession. When Cranmer translated the Litany in 1554, he left in it three clauses containing invocations to the Virgin, to the Angels, and to the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven ; which, however, were all omitted from the Litany of the First Prayer-book.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE COMMUNION OFFICE.

A SEPARATE analysis of the various offices of the Prayer-book is outside the scope of this work. Yet the paramount importance of understanding the office appointed for the celebration of the Holy Communion makes a little further explanation necessary than can be gathered from the chapters in which it has already, incidentally, fallen under discussion. It is the only Christian ordinance,

Ordained by  
Christ  
Himself.

except that of Baptism, which was expressly ordered by Christ Himself; and throughout all the earliest ages of the Church, this service of the Communion, in which Christ imparted Himself to the faithful, this Eucharistic Feast of Thanksgiving and Praise, was always known as *the* Liturgy.

We cannot tell for certain what was the exact form which the Apostles themselves followed in carrying out the command of our Lord, "This do in remembrance of Me," after He Himself had been withdrawn from them. But there is every reason to suppose that, as He had used the ceremonial

of the Jewish Passover Supper previously to His institution of this sacrament, so also the Apostles used a great part of that ceremonial "in remembrance of Him." This idea is abundantly confirmed, as we said in an earlier chapter, by an examination of the various Liturgies which have come down to us from ancient times.

These ancient Liturgies may be classified into four distinct groups, as follows:—

(1) The Syrian, like that of St. James (or of Jerusalem); or that of St. Thaddæus (or of the East).

(2) The Alexandrian, of which St. Mark's is the characteristic type.

(3) The Gallican, which was the prevailing type at first in Western Europe; derived ultimately, it is said, from Ephesus and St. John, the Bishop of Ephesus.

(4) The Roman.<sup>1</sup>

Certain features are common to all these Liturgies without exception, though they differ greatly from one another in arrangement and in many of the less essential points. What variation there is is not remarkable when we remember the discretion which in early times was used by every bishop in such matters. Since

Features  
common to  
all Liturgies.

<sup>1</sup> The English Use of Sarum was founded upon the Roman type, with many modifications, as we have seen, chiefly due to Gallican influence. Our own Communion Service, again, comes mainly from the Sarum Use.

there is no question of *individual* authorship, but only of type, it seems natural to suppose that they were all derived from a common original, and at least some of the materials for this are actually found where we should expect them to be found—in rites observed in the Jewish Church; others, and these the characteristic Christian features, being naturally referred to our Lord's own institution.

Some of these features, which are common to every ancient Liturgy without exception (though they occur in varying order), are—

(1) Readings from the Old and then from the New Testament.

(2) Intercessions for the living and the departed.

(3) A repetition of the words in which our Lord instituted this sacrament.

(4) A prayer for the consecration of the bread and the wine.

(5) An oblation, or offering of the elements.

(6) The Lord's Prayer.

(7) The Communion itself—actual participation of the consecrated elements.

Besides these points, there are many minor details in which all ancient Liturgies agree. Two in particular of those given above (4) and (5) must be carefully noticed. One of the characteristic differences between Eastern and Western Liturgies is in connection with the Prayer of Consecration. The Eastern

Consecration  
and  
Oblation.

have, and the Western have not,<sup>1</sup> a distinct Invocation (ἐπίκλησις) of the Holy Spirit to descend to make the elements the Body and the Blood of Christ. This would seem to be a logical preliminary to considering that they have been consecrated. But, in common with the Roman and the old English offices, our own Consecration Prayer supposes that it is sufficient for the celebrant to lay his hands upon the bread and the chalice, with the words, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood." We pray that we, receiving "these Thy creatures of bread and wine," may be partakers of Christ's Body and Blood; and we believe that the Holy Spirit effects what sacramental change is necessary without our mentioning the means by which that object is attained.

The other point (5)—the oblation—is connected with subjects of great doctrinal importance, and it is in view of the controversies to which this subject has given rise that the structure of the English office has undergone its most significant alterations. It is clear from the arrangement of the ancient Liturgies that an oblation or offering of the elements was made either just before or just after their consecration. This was the "memorial" formally presented to God of the sacrifice of His Son. This, the offering of the bread and wine, as a memorial

The  
Eucharistic  
memorial.

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, practically certain that the Gallican and Spanish Liturgies once had it.

before God, was the real sacrifice of the Eucharist. It was to be made before the elements themselves were consumed. In Mediæval times the doctrine had become so corrupt that the Sacrifice of the Mass was held to be not merely the *memorial* of the Sacrifice on Calvary, but a repetition of it; the elements, as it was taught by the doctrine of Transubstantiation, were *actually* changed in substance, by the act of consecration, to the Lord's Body and Blood. Whereas the ancient and Catholic view was that expressed in our own Communion Office<sup>1</sup> of a sacrifice *once* offered and completed on Calvary, and therefore one which could never be repeated by us; and of a Presence in the consecrated elements, real indeed, but spiritual, *i.e.* supernatural, and appropriated only by faith. In the First English Communion Office of 1549 both of the points which we are considering, the invocation and the oblation, were faithfully preserved, in accordance with Catholic usage. Following the great models of the purest ages of the Church, the long Consecration Prayer of 1549 prayed, "With Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be *unto us* the Body and Blood of Thy most

<sup>1</sup> The Consecration Prayer: "Who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."



dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ ;” and after the words of institution had been recited, and the elements presumably consecrated, it went on, “ We Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, *with these Thy holy gifts*, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make.” This is the key to the whole office. The prayer still went on, praying the Father to accept this sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving ; offering the worshippers themselves, their souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto God ; begging Him, though they were unworthy to offer Him any sacrifice, to accept this their bounden duty and service. Next came the Lord’s Prayer, reverently introduced at this solemn part of the service, and as it were formally completing the act of consecration. Then the celebrant greeted the congregation, “ The peace of the Lord be always with you,” to which they made answer, “ And with thy spirit ;” and the priest went on, “ Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up for us once for all, when He bare our sins on His Body upon the cross ; for He is the very Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world ; wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord.” The congregation were then warned to come to the sacrament with pure hearts (“ Ye that do truly and earnestly,” etc.) ; and then, after their public confession of sin, and the absolution pronounced by the priest ; after

listening to the encouragement of the comfortable words, and after the celebrant had uttered in their name the Prayer of Humble Access, "We do not presume to come to this Thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in Thy manifold and great mercies;"—then, and not till then, were they to come forward to the actual participation of the Sacrament of the Body and the Sacrament of the Blood.

The structural changes made in this office in 1552 were due mainly to the fear of the erroneous doctrines about the Eucharist which had been so prevalent, and against which it had been the main business of the Reformation to protest. A brief summary of these alterations has been already given in a previous chapter. The Invocation was removed, because it seemed to give rise to the idea of Transubstantiation, or corporal change; and the Oblation (offering, sacrifice) was removed to the position it now occupies, *after* the participation, so as to avoid the semblance of adoration given to the consecrated elements before they were consumed. The Oblation, however, besides being now out of place, is maimed almost beyond recognition; the only characteristic words now remaining being the petition to "accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." If those who were responsible for the changes of 1552 were the same men who expressed the opinion given in the Act

Changes due  
to previous  
errors.

of Uniformity of that year—that the former book of 1549 contained nothing but what was agreeable to the Word of God and to primitive practice—it seems to us, now, unfortunate that other considerations prevailed. But the difficulties of the time must have been great, and we may be thankful that their work was really confined to re-formation, and did not, as in some Churches of the Continent, issue in a practical rejection of the old offices altogether.

The Introits, or introductory Psalms, were left out in 1552, in accordance with the general tendency exhibited at that time to minimize the element of praise. Nor have we in our present office a trace of the old kiss of peace, which was preserved up to the time of the Reformation by passing the Pax-bred, or Peace-tablet, from one communicant to another. The order of 1549, to say “Glory be to Thee, O God,” on the announcement of the Gospel for the day, though omitted in 1552, and never restored, is preserved in most churches nowadays through tradition.

With regard to private Confession in the presence of a priest, we may notice that its advisability, in certain cases, is taught by the Prayer-book in that Exhortation in the Communion Office which comes immediately after the Prayer for the Church Militant, and which, though seldom read in churches, there is no authority to omit. As in the Order for the Visitation

Omissions.

Private  
confession.

of the Sick, the recommendation is to such persons as cannot quiet their own conscience, or who feel their conscience troubled with any weighty matter. The responsibility of deciding whether such a confession had better be made or not is in both cases left with the person concerned ; but the consolation of a private confession and absolution before Communion or before imminent death is thus provided by the Church of England for such persons as desire it.

It will have been gathered from what has been said that in our present Communion Service every essential element of the primitive office is still preserved, though two important points which we have been considering exist now only in a weakened form.

Prayers for  
the dead.

The same may be said of the Eucharistic Prayer for the Departed. All that clause of the Consecration Prayer of 1549—"We commend unto Thy mercy (O Lord) all other Thy servants which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace ; grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and everlasting peace"—was omitted in 1552 ; yet it was replaced in 1661, by a memorial of the departed, which still stands at the end of the Prayer for the Church Militant,<sup>1</sup> "We also bless Thy holy Name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear." And it is interesting

<sup>1</sup> The Prayer for the Church Militant was originally, as has been pointed out, a part of the long Consecration Prayer.

to notice that while, in deference to foreign criticism, this prayer for the Church was restricted, in 1552, to that part of it "militant here in earth," so excluding the great Majority who have already passed beyond the veil; yet the phrase in the Prayer of Oblation, "that we and *all* Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins," was consciously retained in 1661, as indicative of our wider privilege.<sup>1</sup> It is also interesting to observe that in English Service-books which have been drawn up by the Scotch and American Churches, free from external pressure, all these points are preserved in a form far nearer to the First English Prayer-book than our own.

Scottish and  
American  
Liturgies.

It has been necessary, in giving some account of this, the greatest service of the Christian Church, to examine it from a standpoint only indirectly devotional. But it must be remembered that its fundamental and primary object is to guide the worshipper rightly and reverently to God. Not without reason, not without authority, does one word hold its place in the Communion Office. That office comes down to us from times when men were willing, if need were, to die for a phrase, provided it expressed to them the truth of their religion; and there are few

Worship the  
primary  
object.

<sup>1</sup> Compare also the words of the concluding prayers of the Burial Service, "We, *with all those* that are departed;" "That we may rest in Him, as our hope is *this our brother* doth."

perhaps of its more significant words which have not, in some age of the Church, been sealed with martyrdom. We pass, step by step, through the

Gradual  
ascent to  
the Altar.

initial stages of preparation, ensured to the thoughtful worshipper by the Lord's Prayer, by the old Collect for Purity, and by the detailed self-examination of the Ten Commandments, to pray for our earthly Sovereign, and for the grace especially suggested by the collect for the day ; to listen, in the Epistle and the Gospel, to the revealed will of the heavenly King. We recite, in the weighty words of the Nicene Symbol, our faith in God and in the mysteries of the redemption, and make some offering from our worldly possessions to the Giver of all good gifts. Then come our intercessions for the whole Church carrying on its warfare upon earth ; for the government ; for the clergy ; for our fellow-worshippers ; for all those who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity ; not forgetting God's servants who have departed this life in His faith and fear. Then we are invited to confess our sins, and we receive forgiveness of them, if we with hearty repentance and true faith really turn to God. Next we listen to the words which are indeed comfortable to such as have felt the burden of sin, and who feel that it is really taken away by the Redeemer ; and we give thanks for our release, literally mingling our adoration with the song of the angels and



archangels and of all the company of heaven, who, we are told, cease not day or night before the throne uttering their praises, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Glory be to Thee, O Lord most high." Then the Prayer of Humble Access, said by the priest in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, brings us to the threshold of the Consecration Prayer, and so to the highest point of the service, where we are permitted to partake of the sacred food. The Lord's Prayer comes, when all have partaken, as a thanksgiving for the gift just vouchsafed ; we offer ourselves, our souls and bodies, as a living sacrifice to God ; and then, with the songs of angels again ringing in our ears, "Glory be to God on high, in earth peace, good will to men," we kneel down to receive "the peace of God."



## CHAPTER XX.

### A FEW PRAYER-BOOK TERMS NOT EXPLAINED IN THE PRECEDING PAGES.

N.B.—This list is not given as a complete glossary. It may, however, be supplemented from the Index, in which references are made to pages of the text where other terms are explained.

*Advent* (*adventus*, “arrival,” “approach”). The four Sundays and the week-days before Christmas, in which we prepare to commemorate Christ’s *coming* in the flesh, and in which also we prepare for His second coming.

*Affiance*. Trust, confidence.

*Alb*. A white linen tunic, reaching to the feet and fastened with a girdle, having closely fitting sleeves which reach to the hands. The alb, like the cope and surplice, are mentioned in the Book of 1549 (see p. 69, above), but not in our present Prayer-book.

*Alms* (ἐλεημοσύνη, “pity”). Gifts for the poor.

*Amen*. “So be it.” (1) The ratification by the people of the minister’s words ; or (2) his own ratification of them. In the former case the Prayer-book prints the words in *italics* ; in the

latter case the type is the same as in the rest of the prayer, *e.g.* after the Lord's Prayer at the opening of the Communion Service, where the people are not expected to say the "Amen."

*Apocalypse* (ἀποκάλυψις, "unveiling," "revelation").

A term applied to the Book of the Revelation of St. John.

*Ascension Day*; or, Holy Thursday. The fortieth day after Easter, commemorating the ascension of Jesus Christ to heaven.

*Ash-Wednesday*. The first of the forty days of Lent.

In primitive times ashes were sprinkled upon the head, in token of the humiliation of this season.

*Banns of Marriage* (Anglo-Saxon *abannan*, "to publish"). Public notice of an intended marriage.

*Bishop* (ἐπίσκοπος, "an overseer"). A member of the highest order of the Christian ministry.

*Bissextile*. See *Leap Year*.

*Briefs* (Fr. *brief*, "a short writ"). Letters from the sovereign, directing an offertory or collection to be made for a certain object. They were abolished by Act of Parliament in 1828.

*Candidate* (*candidatus*, "clothed in white"). A classical term for one who seeks a public office or position.

*Canon* (κανών, "a rule"). A rule or law of discipline or of doctrine. The canonical books of Holy Scripture are those which are accepted as authoritative by the Church. The term "Canon" is also applied to the rule according to which

the Holy Communion is celebrated, and hence to that portion of the office which is invariable, as distinct from the earlier portion, containing the variable Collects, Epistles, Gospels, etc.

*Catechism* (κατηχέω, "to resound"). An instruction by word of mouth, eliciting replies. Cf. our "echo."

*Citation* (*cito*, "to summon"). Summons to appear before a court.

*Commination* (*comminatio*). A threatening.

*Contrite* (*contritus*, "bruised"). Humbled, or penitent.

*Cope* (*cappa*). A full long cloak, semicircular in shape, reaching to the heels, but open in front. It is generally a processional garment, and is worn over the alb or surplice.

*Craft* (Germ. *kraft*). Power, strength.

*Curate* (*curo*, "to take care of"). One who has charge of a parish or congregation.

*Deacon* (διάκονος, "a servant, or minister"). The third order of the clergy (see Acts vi. 1-6).

*Diocese* (διοίκησις). The sphere of a bishop's jurisdiction.

*Dominical*. Belonging to Sunday. *Dies Dominica* is the Lord's day. The Dominical letter is the Sunday letter.

*Easter*. The time when we commemorate the Lord's resurrection. Possibly from a Teutonic word *urstan*, "to rise." Others connect the name with the Anglo-Saxon goddess *Eostre*, whose

festival was kept about the beginning of spring. It is to be remembered that the whole calendar year is reckoned from Easter Day; and the time when Easter Day itself falls depends upon astronomical considerations. Easter Day is always the first Sunday after the full moon which happens upon, or next after, the twenty-first day of March; and if the full moon happens on a Sunday, Easter Day is the Sunday after.

*Endeavour.* A reflexive use (which is now obsolete) of this verb occurs in the Collect for the Second Sunday after Easter, and in the Confirmation and Ordination Services.

*Epact* (ἐπακταὶ ἡμέραι, "intercalated days"). The calendar year depends upon the revolution of the earth round the sun, which is completed in about  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days of 24 hours each. Now, the *months* (i.e. moons) of the year depend upon the revolution of the moon round the earth, which is completed in about  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days. Hence the ancient calendar proceeded upon the principle of making the months consist of 29 and 30 days alternately, or, in other words, of an *average* of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days. But 12 months of this length make only  $12 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 354$  days, or about 11 days short of the year as determined by the sun. Thus the *last* moon of the year (supposing a year when the periods of the earth and moon begin together) is 11 days old when the new

year begins. This is the Epact, which may be defined as "the age of the moon on the 1st of January in any year under consideration." The idea of intercalation, from which the name is derived, comes in thus—that the age of the moon on the 1st of January has to be allowed for in the calculation of Easter, *i.e.* in solving the question, "What will be the age of the moon on the 21st of March [see *Easter*] in such-and-such a year?" for from that we can immediately tell the day of the following full moon, that is, when next it will be 14 days old. The Epact is connected with the Golden Number in the following way: Remembering that at the end of every 19 years the actual completed revolutions of the moon round the earth all but coincide (within about 2 hours) with the completed revolutions of the earth round the sun, we consider these 19 years as a cycle (the "Metonic cycle"), and we number each of the 19 years with the numbers I., II., III., to XIX. These numbers are the Golden numbers. Take as year I. of the cycle (Golden number I.) that on which the age of the moon on the 1st of January is 0; *i.e.* new moon on the 1st of January. Then, because of the 12 lunations being 11 days short of 365 days in the year, the age of the moon (or the Epact) on the 1st of January of year II. is 11; in year III. is 22; in year IV. is 33, or, since we need not count the

*whole* lunation of 30 days, but only the days which are over, the Epact of year IV. is 3; in year V. is 14, and so on. N.B.—These figures are given as round numbers: 30 days exceed a *true* lunation by nearly two-thirds of a day; but this error goes to balance another—that of taking *exactly* 11 days as the excess of the solar over the lunar year. Still, the date of the Paschal full moon can be only approximately fixed by means of the Golden number and Epact. For a considerable number of Metonic cycles these calculations are near enough for practical purposes, but from time to time the Golden numbers have to be readjusted to the years, and the present cycle will only serve till A.D. 1900.

*Epiphany* (ἐπιφάνεια)=Manifestation. The season when the Church commemorates the presentation of Jesus to the Gentile kings (Matt. ii. 11). In the earliest times the prominent idea in the Epiphany was the manifestation of the Holy Trinity at Christ's Baptism.

*Eucharist* (εὐχαριστέω, "to be grateful," "to return thanks"). An early name for the Holy Communion, the Christian "sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving."

*Fruition* (*fruor*, "to enjoy"). Enjoyment.

*Ghostly*. Spiritual.

*Golden Number*. The moon's revolutions round the earth terminate about the same time as the earth's revolutions round the sun only once

in 19 years. Starting from B.C. 1 (A.D. 1 being the *second* of the present series), these years are numbered in order from 1 to 19, the numbers being called Golden numbers. See *Epact*.

*Gospel* (good spell or tidings). A translation of εὐαγγέλιον, "good tidings."

*Hell*. The abode of the dead, Hades, considered as a region below the earth.

*Heresy* (αἵρεσις, from αἰρέομαι, "to choose"). A personal choice or profession of doctrine opposed to that of the Church.

*Host* (*hostia*, "victim," or "sacrifice"). The consecrated bread. The word does not occur in our Prayer-book.

*Kindly*. Natural. "Kindly fruits" are such as it is natural for the earth to produce.

*Lammas Day*. Loaf-mass Day (August 1), on which occurred a special festival for the blessing of bread.

*Leap Year*. The present arrangement of our calendar assigns 31 days to seven months of the year, 30 days to four others, and 28 to the month of February. These together, in an ordinary year, make only 365 days, whereas the *actual* year (*i.e.* the year determined by the sun) is almost exactly  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days. The odd quarter is made up by adding a whole day every fourth year to February. Such a year is called leap year. Leap year is called bissextile because, in the Latin calendar, the day in February which was



called the *sixth* day before the Calends of March was reckoned twice to make up the extra day.

*Lent.* The five weeks and five days before Easter which commemorate our Lord's forty-days' fast in the wilderness. The word is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *lencten*, which means the spring of the year.

*Lively.* Living, active. "Lively members," "lively faith."

*Mattins* (*matutinus*, "early"). The Service of Morning Prayer. The word was sometimes used as an equivalent for "Nocturns."

*Maundy Thursday.* *Dies mandati*, the day on which the "new commandment" was given by our Lord, *i.e.* the day before Good Friday.

*Metropolitan.* Belonging to the *μητρόπολις*, or mother-city, *i.e.* to the seat of the archbishopric.

*Militant* (*militare*, "to perform military service"). The Church Militant is the Church on earth still carrying on its warfare, as opposed to the Church at rest, *i.e.* the dead.

*Octave.* The eighth day after any principal festival of the Church. Proper "Prefaces" in the Communion Service are used for seven days after Christmas, Easter Day, and Ascension Day.

*Ordinal.* In old signification a book showing what service was appropriate for a particular day. Also (and generally at the present time) a book containing the Offices for the Ordination of the various ministers of the Church.

*Parish* (παροικία, and late Latin *paræcia*). A district committed to the charge of one person, who has the care of souls therein.

*Paschal* (πάσχα, or Hebrew *pesach* = Passover). Belonging to the Passover or Easter season.

*Passion* (*passio*). Suffering.

*Pentecost* (πεντηκοστή = "fiftieth"). The fiftieth day after Easter, *i.e.* Whit Sunday.

*Pomp* (πομπή, "a procession"). Outward display.

*Prevent* (*prævenire*). To go before, and so to assist.

*Priest* (πρεσβύτερος, "an elder"). A member of the second order of the Christian ministry.

*Proper Prefaces* in the Communion Service are the forms of words, appropriate to particular festivals, which introduce the anthem, "Therefore with angels and archangels," etc. Proper Prefaces are provided for Christmas Day and seven days after; Easter Day and seven days after; Ascension Day and seven days after; Whit Sunday and *six* days after (for the seventh day after Whit Sunday is Trinity Sunday); and for Trinity Sunday only.

*Quick* (O.E. *cwic*). Living, alive.

*Quinquagesima*. Fiftieth. See *Septuagesima*.

*Rochet* (Ger. *rock*, "a coat"). The garment of white linen appointed by the Ordination Service to be worn by the bishop-elect.

*Schism* (σχίσμα, "a rent, or division"). The sin of separation from the Church.

*Septuagesima.* Literally, the *seventieth* day before Easter. Reckoning back from Easter, Ash-Wednesday is the fortieth day (since Lent commemorates the forty-days' fast), the three Sundays before that being called respectively Septuagesima (seventieth), Sexagesima (sixtieth), and Quinquagesima (fiftieth), the terms being, of course, not arithmetically correct.

*Sexagesima.* Sixtieth. See *Septuagesima*.

*Sunday Letter.* The number of days in the year, as determined by the sun, is nearly  $365\frac{1}{4}$ . This, divided by 7, gives 52 complete weeks and more than a day over. Certain letters being assigned to the various days in each week, if Sunday have the letter A, Monday will have the letter B, Tuesday C, and so on to Saturday, which will have the seventh letter, G. Now, supposing January 1 in any year to be Sunday, its letter will be A; *every* Sunday in such a year will therefore have the letter A; and the last day of the year, left over after the 52 weeks are complete, will also be a Sunday, with the letter A. But the next day, Monday, is the 1st of January in the following year, to which the letter A is assigned. Thus Tuesday in this next year will have B, Wednesday C, and so on, leading to the letter G for Sundays all through the year. Our present cycle began with A.D. 1, Sunday letter G. In leap years there are *two* Sunday letters, for after the intercalated day

(the 29th of February) the letters are of course pushed on a day, so that if the Sunday letter were A down to the 28th of February, after that date it will be G.

*Surplice* (*superpelliceum*). The garment of white linen worn over the cassock. Like the rochet, it is a modification of the alb, but is shorter and fits closer than the latter. This word does not occur in our present Prayer-book.

*Turks* (in the third Good Friday collect) = Mahometans.

*Vicar* (*vicarius*). One who supplies the place of another. Generally the representative of a rector, who may be either a cleric or a layman.

*Vulgar Tongue*; *i.e.* the ordinary language of the people, as opposed to a foreign tongue.

*Wealth*. Prosperity, well-being. "In all time of our wealth."

*Whit Sunday*. White Sunday, *Dominica in albis*. Called also Pentecost (*πεντηκοστή*), because it is the *fiftieth* day after Easter, commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles (Acts ii. 4). The day was a special occasion for baptizing converts to the faith, and acquired its name from the white robes worn at their baptism. Those also who had been baptized at Easter appeared on this day in their white robes for the last time before laying them aside.

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